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ISABEL THE CATHOLIC

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

QUEENS OF SPAIN,

FROM THE

PERIOD OF THE CONQUEST OF THE GOTHS TO THE ACCESSION OF HER PRESENT MAJESTY ISABELLA II. WITH THE REMARKABLE EVENTS THAT OCCURRED DURING THEIR RESPECTIVE REIGNS, AND ANECDOTES OF THEIR SEVERAL COURTS.

BY

ANITA GEORGE.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

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VOL. II.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1850.

LONDON:
Printed by Schulze and Co., 13, Poland Street.

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PREFACE.

Not without considerable hesitation, have I approached the subject of the present volume: and gladly, had it been possible, would I have omitted it, and passed on to the next. While the glowing pages in which the pen of a master has recorded whatsoever was worthy of note in this memorable reign—the interest of the incidents largely increased by the exquisite and truly classical grace of his style—are still fresh in the memory of every lover of elegant literature, it seemed not only presumptuous, but needless to attempt the same ground. Though the beaten path may, to some minds, appear easy in comparison with the mazes of the untrodden wilderness, it is divested of all the charms of the latter, for its flowers have been rifled of their bloom and fragrance. Still, though the subject is the same, no comparison can be instituted between the important work that has been for some

years before the public and the present. Where the plan is so different, no similitude can exist. The one is a history of the times, illustrating the state of opinion and society at that period; containing able and interesting disquisitions on the laws, the literature, the military science of the country; and giving a terse, vigorous, and philosophical analysis of causes, as well as a faithful narrative of results; whereas, the other is simply a biography of the sovereign, and an account of the principal events of her reign.

While no one could feel greater admiration for the inimitable beauties of the work which has secured its place among the classics to which I allude, I had derived from my studies a very different view of the subject; and this view could not be altered even by the perusal of those fascinating pages. I engage in no laboured defence of my own opinion. I give the facts on which it is founded, and leave others to controvert it as they may. If the harsher traits of Isabel's character have been too plainly recorded in these pages, it has been from no wish to present them under a darker aspect than is their due. The simple narrative of the deeds she sanctioned needs no exaggeration to heighten its effect. Hers were errors which no pen could extenuate; and the time that has elapsed since they were committed places them in their true light. A distinguished modern author has said truly, that with certain individuals, as with certain objects, to be seen correctly, they must be viewed from a distance. But, while the

memory of the Queen must bear the weight of reproach which she incurred, the gallant nation that she governed—a nation second to none in every good and great quality—must be entirely exonerated from the charge of innate bigotry, which has at times been brought against it by those who were wholly ignorant of its true character.

While giving as faithful and minute an account of the Spanish Queens as the materials extant permit, it has been my constant purpose to give a compendium of the History of Spain. Hitherto the sketch has been but meagre—the Spaniards have ever been more ready to enact great deeds than to record them; and as, until the close of the fifteenth century, Spain had enjoyed little intercourse with the other powers of Europe, small note was taken beyond her own limits of her inward life. But as the art of printing became general, and as Spain rose rapidly in power and political importance, everything connected with her internal economy became of moment, and was carefully recorded both at home and abroad.

Though the reign of Isabel derives great importance from the vast amount of wealth and territory which the Crown of Spain acquired from the discovery of the New World, those of her successors (which will form the subject of the succeeding Volumes) are no less rich in interesting events. From the reign of her grandson, the Emperor Charles V., linked as it is with the great religious change that was introduced by

Luther, to those of the Fourth Charles, and his son Ferdinand, interwoven with the fortunes of the French Cæsar, and that of her present Majesty Isabel II., all are replete with remarkable and interesting details, of which a very inconsiderable portion has as yet received publicity.

NOVEMBER, 1850.

THE QUEENS OF SPAIN.

ISABEL THE CATHOLIC,

QUEEN, IN HER OWN RIGHT, OF CASTILE,

1474,

AND, BY MARRIAGE, OF ARAGON,

1479.

The glorious events which, during the reign of Isabel the Catholic, elevated the Spanish monarchy to a height of splendour that presented a startling contrast with the state of prostration to which a portion of it had been reduced under her immediate predecessors, encircled that sovereign with so brilliant a halo, that the dazzled eyes of her national historiographers have overlooked her defects; and, seen through the long vista of ages, she would appear faultless, had not the less partial pens of foreign writers revealed some blemishes.

I am well aware that the iconoclast who, with daring

hand, attempts to displace from its high pedestal the so long admired image, and to reveal the secret mechanism which worked its wonders, will incur the disapprobation of a host of worshippers; but, while admiring in the pages of the past the towering edifice, of which the massive fragments dispersed hither and thither alone remain, I could not refrain from endeavouring to ascertain the causes that led to its downfall; and, tracing to their source the degradation and poverty which have succeeded to such wealth and power, I found the records of time ever pointing to the unwise architect who wasted priceless materials in building, not on the enduring rock, but on the false sands. Still, while I cannot but perceive and deplore the error that dictated its unstable foundation, I am not blind to the beauties of the structure.

Isabel, though not gifted with the genius which creates circumstances, was endowed with the good sense that perceives and profits by them. Although unfortunately tinctured with a superstitious and fanatical zeal, excessive even for that age,* and with

* When Pedro II., King of Aragon, did homage for his kingdom to the Pope, agreeing to pay him an annual tribute as his feudatory, the nation was indignant, and the great barons peremptorily refused to ratify the humiliating promise, fiercely reproaching the sovereign for his base surrender of his own and his people's rights. In 1203, the Assembly of the States protested solemnly against it, thus rendering it of no effect. The fact of Pedro having promised for himself and heirs, merely had the effect of making the latter the more cautious in admitting of any subjection to the Court of Rome, his successors, at their coronation, making a public protest against the claims of the Church. For an instance of this, see vol. I, reign of

a firmness frequently bordered on obstinacy, while her care for the interests of her people too often assumes the aspect of a selfish jealousy of her own authority, and of an inordinate love of power; yet, on the other hand, possessed qualities which eminently fitted her to meet the emergencies of those times. Born at such a distance from the throne as, while it precluded her being exposed to the evil effects of the adulation paid to its immediate heir, still permitted her to cherish the hope of one day occupying it, the rough school of adversity early developed her excellent natural abilities; and the peculiar situation in which she was placed contributed to sweeten a disposition originally neither violent nor irritable. She early found that prudence, patience, and mildness, would advance her fortunes, while a cold, ungracious demeanour, a frowning brow, and harsh words, might ruin them; and thus she soon learnt to subdue every outward demonstration of temper.

Pedro III., p. 79. Pedro II. himself was slain while fighting against the true believers the battles of the heretic Counts of Provence. Pedro III., in defiance of the Pope's injunctions to the contrary, and disregarding the anathemas fulminated against him, maintained with the sword the right of his consort to the crown of Sicily, against Charles of Anjou, on whom it had been bestowed by the pontiff. During the reign of Enrique IV., immediately after the battle of Olmedo, we find the Castilian nobles denying the Pope's right of interference in their concerns. Numberless instances of this nature can be quoted, tending to prove that the spirit of intolerant bigotry which ignited the torches of the inquisition was not universally diffused throughout the nation, and might have been greatly mitigated, if not totally extirpated, had the sovereign been less deeply imbued with it. Nor did the Spaniards tamely submit to the establishment of this iniquitous tribunal; for it will be seen that the Aragonese and Valencians long and firmly opposed its introduction.

Though at the time of her marriage a mere girl in years, she had already passed through a variety of fortunes which had imparted to her youthful mind the experience of mature age. Diligent and methodical, she found time, amid the multifarious cares of government, to atone for the deficiency of her education, and acquired such a knowledge of Latin as enabled her to read and converse in that language. Quick of observation, she detected the weak points of those she wished to gain to her cause, and neglected none of those arts of condescension so charming in persons of superior rank, but particularly calculated, in a female sovereign, to win the hearts of her subjects. Full of energy, promptness, and decision, undaunted by peril, undismayed by defeat, fertile in resources, strictly equitable when her judgment was not warped by mistaken piety, prone to lenity when fanaticism had not extinguished charity, Isabel possessed, moreover, the essential talent that subsequently contributed in England to make of an ordinary woman a great Queen—she chose her ministers well; and the credit of their great and successful schemes was given to the sovereign, while the odium of her unpopular acts fell on her counsellors.

The tact and consummate political address which she displayed in her contest with Enrique, and in her marriage contract, prove the judicious docility with which she listened to the advice of her friends, the Archbishop of Toledo and Don Fadrique, Admiral of Castile, men who, born and bred amid the tempestuous commotions of civil wars, were well versed in the difficult tactics of faction. That she was not very scru-

pulous in her adherence to promises when the fulfilment interfered with her interests, the violation of the articles of capitulation of Almeria and Guadix bear witness. She humbled the power of the nobles, a power that had, under the last two monarchs, become so formidable as to menace royalty itself; but, on the other hand, she erected one far more dangerous to prince and people when she sanctioned the inquisition. Excellent institutions sprang up at her command; but, at their very foundations, were sown the seeds of the destructive principle that was to neutralize their beneficial results. A slave to her confessor, she adopted a religious code which seemed to have emanated from the councils of the great enemy of man: and the relentless fanaticism that sanctioned the wholesale murder, the extermination of the gallant Moors, and the exile and ruin of the unhappy Jews, cannot be viewed, even at this distance of time, without horror and disgust.

This mistaken zeal bringing religion, perverted and blood-stained, to direct the springs of government, and preside in every department, gave birth to a system which has unfortunately been maintained ever since, and borne bitter fruits. So long as the successors of Isabel were princes of extraordinary genius and superior intellect, the evil effects of the system she had introduced were not felt; but from the day in which they proved themselves deficient in those qualities, the gorgeous fabric she had erected crumbled into dust. The good she did was apparent, evanescent; while the evil that accompanied it had strong roots that spread far

and wide through the rich soil, the deleterious blossoms poisoning the once pure atmosphere for long centuries. Isabel has been vindicated on the plea that her enthusiasm, while it overleaped the bounds of reason, and entailed a curse on every succeeding generation, was sincere—a poor consolation to the ruined, outraged, tortured, massacred, or exiled thousands of her own day; and in subsequent ages, to the martyr her intolerant laws bound to the stake; to the enlightened patriot, who beheld his country fast declining in the scale of nations, and dying of premature old age; to the man of letters, whose genius was clogged, cramped, bound to earth by the fetters she had forged; to the peasant, whose untilled fields attested his despair of ever reaping for his own benefit the fruits of his toil; to the artist, the merchant, the artisan, whose industry was paralyzed—to these crushed millions, what mattered it that the originator of the curse was conscientious in her infliction of wrong? The uncontaminated purity of her morals, the exquisite modesty of her demeanour, her habits of industry, were qualities that fitted her to adorn any station; and in the retirement of private life, as a daughter, a wife, and a mother, Isabel was faultless—as a Queen she was responsible to a nation for all her public acts, and had no right to bring her own passions to influence its welfare.

The most remarkable quality, indeed the chief characteristic of the Spaniards, particularly of the Castilians, is their ardent loyalty. This chivalrous devotion to the sovereign, while it blinded them to his defects,

and magnified his virtues until they assumed colossal proportions, also led them to be biassed in all things by his tastes and inclinations. Thus each sovereign has seen his own character and pursuits reflected in those of his people, and his wishes for any particular excellence, in any department, have ever been amply gratified. The Catholic sovereigns, Isabel and Ferdinand, patronised theologians, jurists, statesmen, and generals, and no nation could boast of equalling Spain, at that epoch, in the possession of men eminent in those branches of learning. Their far-famed grandson, Charles V., wished for warriors and statesmen, for in his own person he united the qualifications of both; and Europe never has seen a council of state surpassing his, nor ever did Prince number at his command more illustrious generals. Philip II., favouring no particular department, wished to have distinguished men in each; and the Council of Trent affords ample proof of his success. Philip III. carried his piety to excess, and the Spanish altars were ministered to by saints. Philip IV. was passionately fond of poetry, and his subjects distinguished themselves accordingly. The feeble constitution of Charles II. precluded his taking any steps to obtain anything; and the want of energy of the monarch appears to have communicated itself to the nation, for in this reign we find no eminent men. The next Philip patronising men of letters and able generals, they seemed to have been awaiting his accession, such were the numbers that sprang into existence at his bidding.

These few examples sufficiently prove that in Spain the Government never lacks elements to accomplish its

purposes, and that it is only necessary to give them a proper direction. The love of King and country are innate in the breast of the Spaniard, and to the call of honour he has never lent a deaf ear. With hearts and arms ever ready for great and glorious deeds, under chiefs such as her Carpios, Vivares, Córdovas, Toledos, Corteses, and Léivas, Spain has never known defeat, save when the odds in numbers were greatly against her. Unfortunately, the very depth of their feelings too often hurries these warm-hearted sons of the south into extremes, causing their noblest and best qualities to degenerate into the most deplorable errors. Thus their zeal for the cause of religion often becomes a persecuting bigotry, and their generous enthusiasm for that of royalty at times has betrayed them into a contemptible and servile toleration of vice and imbecility which not only degraded them in the eyes of other nations, but brought their own country to the verge of ruin. Of this we have a lamentable proof in the two foregoing reigns, when neither the culpable indolence and total incapacity for governing of one monarch, nor the gross licentiousness of another, sufficed to hurl them from the throne they polluted and undermined, or entirely to alienate the affection of their vassals.

The accession of a young sovereign untainted by the coarse tastes of her brother, and whose first steps in her arduous career proclaimed her free from the weakness of her father, was hailed by all classes with unbounded delight. Most fortunate for Spain was the reaction that took place at that momentous crisis, as the extinction of

the sentiment of loyalty is the greatest misfortune that can befall a nation; and the downfall of monarchy in Spain would have been then, what it would be now, the downfall of power, the loss of renown. Had a third sovereign as disqualified as the two last mounted the throne, the country would have probably been subdivided among the ambitious high vassals, and been long in regaining its place among the powers of Europe. This fate was averted by the accession of Isabel: even the sex of the new sovereign, which apparently unfitted her for the throne at an epoch when strength of body was almost as necessary as strength of intellect to the head of the nation, proving a powerful argument in her behalf with her gallant subjects, and the success that attended her first steps confirmed her popularity and established her disputed right.

Isabel, the daughter of Juan II., by his second consort, Isabel of Portugal, was, according to the best authorities, born in Madrigal, a town of Old Castile, on the 22nd of April, 1451. At the death of Juan, his widow and her two children, Isabel, then in her fourth year, and Alfonso, in his second, retired to Arévalo, a town forming part of her jointure. Though Juan had amply provided for the maintenance, according to their rank, of his family, the young King, his successor, we are told by some writers, was so negligent of the welfare of his step-mother and her offspring, that they often lacked even necessaries; and this precarious mode of living, operating on the already vaccillating reason of the Dowager Queen reduced her to the state of imbecility in which she con-

tinued during the whole of her protracted widowhood.*

From whatever cause it might originate, the seclusion in which the royal children were brought up, nay, the very privations they endured, proved favourable to the Infanta, who passed the first ten years of her life far from the deleterious pleasures, the enervating luxury, and the baneful flattery of a corrupted Court. Having given up, either from choice or necessity, the gaieties of life, the widowed Queen devoted the greatest portion of her time to the practices of religion, and hence probably sprang the fervid piety of her daughter.

Many were the candidates for the hand of the Infanta of Castile,† and it was eventually obtained by her first suitor, Ferdinand, son of Juan II, King of Navarre and Aragon, by his second consort, Juana Henriquez. In the fourth year of the reign of Enrique, that is some time between 1457 and 1458, that monarch had an interview with Juan, at the time only King of Navarre, but shortly after, by the death of his brother Alfonso, King also of Aragon. At this conference it was agreed that Isabel, then in her seventh year, should marry Ferdinand, who was one year her junior.

The match was suitable both in point of age and

* A different account is given by other writers. Florez says that Enrique ever treated his step-mother with great respect, and appointed a captain and two hundred horse to attend on her as a guard of honour. See *Reinas Catolicas*, tom. II, p. 749.

† The King of Portugal offered himself as her suitor, while the King of France asked her as a wife for the Duke de Guienne, his heir and the King of Aragon for his son, Don Ferdinand.—Ed.

prospects, both being the offspring of second marriages; but their extreme youth rendering it necessary that several years should elapse ere the projected alliance could be realized, many changes intervened during that period. The subsequent altercations that took place between Juan and his eldest son Carlos, and the support afforded to the latter by Enrique, caused a rupture of the peace between the two sovereigns, which apparently precluded all possibility of their original intention being carried out, and in 1460, the Castilian granted his sister's hand to the Prince. The marriage, notwithstanding the disparity of ages, Carlos being then forty, was, in a political point of view, advantageous to both parties, and the untimely death of the Prince alone prevented its taking place. The Infanta was still in Arévalo when she was visited by the envoy of Don Carlos, who, on his return to Barcelona, gave his master a most favourable report of the person and manners of his destined bride.

The death of his elder brother leaving young Ferdinand the heir of the crown, overtures were made by Juan, in 1461, for the renewal of the former project; but, though in the following year it was agreed on, Enrique never willingly sanctioned it, and as he granted assistance to the revolted Catalans, the treaty was again broken off.

In 1462, shortly after the birth of his own daughter, the Princess Juana, under pretence of superintending the education of his brother and sister, but probably in order to secure within his reach relatives who stood in such close proximity to the throne, Enrique had

them removed to his own palace. The question of the little Juana's legitimacy began to be mooted, and the disaffected looked upon the Infantes as the immediate successors of the King. The new residence of the Infanta might have had baneful effects in a moral point of view, but that her youthful mind was strengthened by the sound principles early instilled into it; and, though observing a proper degree of respect and submission towards her sister-in-law, she carefully avoided imitating her thoughtless levity.

At the close of the year 1463, or at the commencement of that of 1464, Enrique promised the hand of his sister to his brother-in-law, the King of Portugal; and in an interview that took place between the sovereigns in Guadaloupe, and at which were present the Queen of Castile and the Infanta Isabel, the latter was strongly urged by her brother to signify her acceptance of the proposal. But Alfonso V., a widower who had heirs by his first Queen was calculated neither to interest the heart, nor to gratify the ambition of the Castilian Infanta, who firmly refused her consent, alleging as a reason that, according to the laws of the realm, the daughters of the royal house of Castile could not be disposed of in marriage without the sanction of the nobles.

This reply, the wisdom and prudence of which are highly extolled by her biographers, was certainly remarkable for a girl of thirteen, and may have been suggested to her by some of her attendants. Be this as it may, it caused the marriage to be delayed, although the project was not abandoned.

Enrique, fluctuating continually between the influence of his Queen and that of his favourites, and harassed by the insolent demands of the insurgents, who now openly supported the claims of his brother Alfonso, finally followed the suggestions of his own timidity, and accepted the conditions of peace offered him by the Marquis of Villena, one of the chiefs of the faction. In pursuance of this cowardly system of conciliation, the hand of the Infanta was granted to Don Pedro Giron, Grand-Master of Calatrava, and brother of Villena. This insolent and dissolute noble, who had once dared to intrude on the privacy of the Dowager Queen with the most insulting proposals, now, careless of the repugnance expressed towards him by his promised bride, made the most brilliant preparations for his approaching nuptials. But fortune reserved Isabel for a higher destiny, and the sudden illness and strange death of the Grand-Master relieved her from his importunities. Don Pedro having obtained from the Pope a dispensation from his vows of celibacy as a member of the church militant, and resigned the dignities he held as chief of his order, was on his way to celebrate his nuptials, accompanied by a numerous suite of friends and retainers, when he was suddenly taken ill on the second day of his journey, and his malady baffling the skill of the lecches, carried him off on the fourth day after his seizure.

For Isabel, who was on the eve of being forced into a marriage for which she entertained so great an abhorrence that when it was notified to her she passed a day and a night bewailing with tears and lamentations the

humiliation that awaited her, and addressing earnest prayers to Heaven that, by her own death or that of her hated suitor, she might be saved from it, the death of the Grand-Master was singularly opportune; though no proof was ever adduced to show that it was brought about by her agency. Isabel had many devoted followers, who, in their intemperate zeal, would have hesitated little to commit a deed of which she might reap the benefit, and of which they were ready in case of discovery to bear the odium. Doña Beatrix de Bobadilla, the confidential friend of Isabel, had vowed to sheathe her poniard in the heart of the aspiring vassal ere he should realize his ambitious projects. If her ladies were thus resolved, it is probable that her adherents of the stronger sex were not less so. The real cause of the death of the Grand-Master has, however, remained shrouded in impenetrable mystery.

If, as many circumstances would lead us to infer, the Infanta cherished a partiality for her cousin Ferdinand, the ready assent given by that Prince to the proposed marriage between himself and Doña Beatrix Pacheco, daughter of the Marquis of Villena, must have been exceedingly wounding to her love and pride. The straits to which Juan was reduced by the long continued rebellion of the Catalans, who were daily expecting the arrival of the young Duke of Lorraine, son of their newly chosen King, compelled him to solicit aid of those Castilian lords whom he deemed his friends; and the Marquis of Villena demanded, as the price of the required assistance, that the Prince of Aragon should marry his daughter. Having failed in his attempt to

secure the reversion of the throne of Castile to his brother, the ambitious noble next sought to place his daughter on that of Aragon. The Admiral himself, who had hitherto favoured the project of marrying his grandson to Isabel, now declared in favour of the alliance with Villena, and the day for the ceremony was named and certain nobles invited to witness it. This was in June of 1467. But whether Juan was induced by the issue of the battle of Olmedo, which was fought while the negotiations were pending, to change his mind; or that the confederated chiefs of the faction, jealous of the height to which this alliance was raising Villena, took measures to prevent it; or that the Marquis himself, aiming at another prize, thought of marrying his daughter to young Alfonso; for one or all of these reasons, the scheme was abandoned, and the negotiations renewed between Isabel and Ferdinand.

The scandalous scene of Avila, the battle of Olmedo, and the surprise of Segovia by the insurgents, determined the conduct of Isabel, whom we find, on the surrender of the latter place, forsaking the Queen and the protection of Enrique, to place herself under that of his rival, now bearing the title of King. The joy of this re-union with a brother from whom she had been so long separated, was soon turned to sorrow by the premature death of the Prince, who fell a victim to poison or to an epidemic then raging, July 5th, 1468. This mournful event, while it opened to her the road to the throne, deprived Isabel of the refuge she had sought; and the insurgents immediately secured her

safety by conveying her to the monastery of Avila, where she was lodged under the protection of a strong escort. Here the Archbishop of Toledo waited on her, in the name of the insurgents, with the offer of proclaiming her Queen of Castile, as the successor to the rights of her late brother. Either from fear of the personal consequences of a step from which the untimely death of Alfonso seemed to warn her, or shocked at the sight of the misery occasioned by civil war, Isabel declined giving the direct sanction of her name to the rebellion. declaring she would lay no claim to the title so long as its present possessor lived.

This moderation, whether proceeding from pusillanimity, or, as is more probable, originating from higher and more disinterested motives, had beneficial, though momentary results, as it gave rise to negotiations with Enrique, in consequence of which a reconciliation was patched up between the brother and sister. The easy monarch, anxious to purchase peace at any price, engaged to acknowledge the Infanta as his immediate successor, to the exclusion of his own child. Isabel was accordingly proclaimed Princess of Asturias at Toros de Guisando, a town in New Castile, September 19th, 1468.*

The bulk of the nation, wearied by the protracted struggle of the contending factions, hailed with joy the proclamation of the Infanta, but the tranquillity was short lived. Enrique's adoption of his sister, increasing her political importance, brought other candidates for

* See vol. i. p. 373.

her hand. Aragon, Portugal, France, and England* eagerly sought her alliance. Enrique, who was desirous of restoring to his daughter the inheritance of which he himself had so recently deprived her, favoured first the suit of the Portuguese monarch, and then that of the French Prince. The agreement between Enrique and Alfonso was that the latter marrying the Infanta, the Crown Prince, his son, should marry the little Princess Juana. By this double alliance, the inheritance of the throne of Castile was secured to the issue of Juana. To the pompous embassy deputed by Alfonso to propose in form to Isabel, the latter, threatened by her brother with imprisonment should she refuse, returned an evasive answer calculated to occasion delay, and gain time to bring about the alliance she was secretly negotiating with Aragon. Alleging the ties of consanguinity that existed between them, she promised to marry her aged suitor in case this obstacle could be removed. Though the envoys were obliged to return without having effected the object of their journey, the King of Portugal was not discouraged, and immediately applied to Rome for the requisite dispensation, which was granted by Pope Paul II. on the 23d June of the same year (1469.)

Another suitor for the hand of the Castilian Infanta was Charles, Duke of Guienne and Berri. With a view

* It is not stated which of the members of the royal family of England solicited the hand of Isabel. In a letter dated October 12th, 1469, written by the Princess to her brother Enrique, and given at length in Castillo's Chronicle, we find mention of the proposal made for her hand by a brother of the then reigning English monarch, Edward IV., but whether this was George, Duke of Clarence, or the Duke of Glo'ster, afterwards Richard III., is not specified.

of ascertaining something of the personal and mental qualities of her suitors, Isabel secretly sent her chaplain, Alfonso de Coca, to the Courts of France and Aragon. The report of this confidential envoy, while it was exceedingly unfavourable to the French Prince, depicted Ferdinand in the most glowing colours, to the great satisfaction of Isabel, who had ever been inclined to favour him.

Enrique in the meanwhile, being about to set out for Andalusia, exacted from his sister a promise that she would take no new measure in regard to any matrimonial connection, and that she would await his return in Ocaña. The King, rightly surmising that the objection she had made to marrying Alfonso was a pretence, and that she was intriguing with the wily King of Aragon, would willingly have secured her in the strongly fortified alcazar of Madrid, but that he dreaded a tenacious resistance on the part of the inhabitants of Ocaña, among whom the Princess resided, and who had received instructions from the Archbishop of Toledo to admit him and his troops should any infringement of her liberty be threatened. No sooner was the King gone than the prelate and his confederates taking advantage of his absence, endeavoured to accelerate the marriage of Isabel with the Prince of Aragon; and the latter, at the Archbishop's suggestion, sent to the Infanta as an earnest of his faith a magnificent necklace of pearls and precious stones, valued at forty thousand florins of gold, which was conveyed to her by Alfonso de Palencia, the chronicler to whose decades modern historians are indebted for numerous minute and interesting details of the romantic court-

ship, in which he himself had taken so prominent a part.

Isabel had not hesitated to bind herself by the promises exacted from her; and as the negotiations with her cousin had been on foot some time previously, she probably thought she was not breaking her word by continuing them — a Jesuitical mode of reasoning which may be deemed excusable, under the circumstances, by those who think wrong may at times be ventured on that good may come of it. Under pretence of superintending the removal of her brother Alfonso's remains from Arévalo, where they had been deposited, she left Ocaña and hastened thither. Arévalo was then commanded by an Alcayde, placed there by the Count of Plasencia, to whom the town had been mortgaged by Prince Alfonso and his faction. The Alcayde, won by Isabel, had promised to give the place up to her, but the intrigue being discovered and the traitor imprisoned, the Infanta was, on her arrival, refused admittance. Disappointed in this scheme, Isabel proceeded to Madrigal, the residence of her mother, and was there waited on by the Cardinal of Arras with the proposals of the Duke of Guienne. Villena, anxious to prevent the union of the Infanta with Ferdinand,*

* The estates which Juan II., of Aragon, had inherited in Castile from his father, Ferdinand I., and his mother, the wealthy Countess of Alburquerque, had been confiscated by Juan II. of Castile, and bestowed on some of his favourites. Villena had obtained a large portion of these domains from Enrique IV., and the fear of being compelled to restore them to the original proprietor, should Ferdinand, by his marriage, obtain a footing in Castile, was one of the chief reasons of the opposition he made to the alliance with Aragon.

had instigated the French King to reiterate the offer of his brother's hand; and Enrique hoping to free his daughter from a dangerous competitor by a marriage which would send the latter into a species of exile, had received the French envoy in Seville and sent him to Madrigal, accompanied by a messenger bearing to the Princess his own commands, requiring her to accept the Duke and cease to think of Ferdinand.

Having granted an audience to the Cardinal in her mother's presence, Isabel replied to the arguments by which he endeavoured to convince her, that "she would, in conformity with the laws of the realm, consult upon the offer with the nobles, and be governed by their advice;—that she desired to do what would most redound to the honour and glory of Castile." The Cardinal, ill pleased with this evasive answer, and with the coldness of his reception, departed in high dudgeon for France.*

Isabel had removed to Madrigal in the hope of escaping the vigilance of the King's spies, but soon found she could not have chosen a worse place for her purpose. The inhabitants, loyal subjects of the King, beheld with little favour the intrigues of his sister; and the Bishop of Burgos, then residing in that town, reported her every movement to his uncle, the Marquis

* Isabel's conduct in this, as in many other instances, was dictated to her by the Archbishop of Toledo and the Admiral. For a proof of this, see Castillo's Chronicle of Enrique IV., chap. 131. "Verdad es que aquella desobediencia de la princesa contra el Rey toda se hizo por acuerdo é consejo de Don Alonso Carrillo, Arzobispo de Toledo, y del Almirante Don Fadrique, por cuyo seso é querer ella se regia é gobernaba," &c.

of Villena. The difficulties of her situation daily increased. Her most favoured ladies, Doña Beatrix de Bobadilla, and Doña Mencia de la Torre,* dreading the anger of Enrique, not only earnestly endeavoured to dissuade her from taking any farther steps in the prosecution of an enterprise fraught with difficulty and peril; but, finding her steadfast, and dreading lest they should become involved in the misfortunes which they anticipated would attend her disobedience, secured their own safety by taking refuge in the neighbouring town of Coca. Even the fidelity of her adherents, Chacon and Cárdenas, appeared to waver. Enrique, apprised of the negotiations with Aragon, determined to resort to extreme measures, and ordered the arrest of the Infanta, but it was too late. From this imminent peril Isabel was rescued by the promptness of the Archbishop, to whom she found means to communicate her situation; and who, being joined by troops sent to him by the Admiral, arrived with a force sufficient to protect and escort her to Valladolid, a town devoted to the Admiral.

This open resistance of the King's authority bringing matters to a crisis, no time was to be lost; and the marriage articles having been drawn up, and all preliminaries settled by the Admiral and the Archbishop, they dispatched Gutierre de Cárdenas and Alfonso de Palencia to accelerate the motions of Ferdinand. The

* Doña Mencia de la Torre was one of the favourites of Don Enrique, who testified for her an admiration which excited the derision of his subjects; and of which he proved the sincerity by the mos lavish profusion of gifts and favours.

messengers were to pass through Osma* to obtain the aid of Don Pedro de Montoya, Bishop of that diocese, who, having been a retainer of the Archbishop to whom he was indebted for his promotion, they had every reason to believe would be devoted to his interests. Palencia was the bearer of a letter from the Archbishop to Montoya, and also of a verbal message desiring the latter to have a hundred and fifty lances in readiness to receive the Prince of Aragon—these, together with one hundred that were to meet him, under the command of Rodrigo de Olmos, five hundred that had been promised by the Count of Medinaceli, and two hundred which Ferdinand was to bring with him, being deemed a sufficient escort to secure his safe passage through the kingdom.

Having arrived secretly in Osma, Palencia, feeling rather doubtful of the Bishop, directed Cárdenas to remain incognito at the inn, while he himself proceeded to the Bishop's residence in order to sound his intentions. Nor were his precautions useless, a few minutes' conversation sufficiently proving the change that had taken place in the feelings of the fickle churchman. Palencia, to lull any suspicions which his host might entertain, and to procure the means of continuing his journey unmolested, asserted that he was on his way to Aragon, to bring thence the original bull of dispensation granted by the Pope for the marriage of the royal cousins, the Archbishop being anxious to satisfy himself on some

* The *Burgo de Osma*, (Borough or Village of Osma,) so called from its being built on or near the site of the ancient town of Oxoma, is not to be confounded with the city of Burgos, also in Castile.

points contained therein, and requested Montoya to furnish him with a guide and a passport to cross the frontiers. This information, calculated to induce the belief that matters were less advanced than he had imagined, led the Bishop to acknowledge that Medinaceli as well as himself had altered his intentions; and that both were now devoted to Enrique, and resolved to put every obstacle in the way of the union of Isabel and Ferdinand.

This news confirmed the urgency of dispatch, and the messengers hastened onwards, Cárdenas, that the guide might not suspect him, passing for the servant of Palencia. From Gomora, a village on the frontiers, Palencia found means to send an express to his employers, apprising them of the change he had found in the Bishop, and advising them to send with speed three hundred lances, officered by a trustworthy man, to meet the Prince in the borough of Osma within ten days. The chronicler takes all the credit to himself of the plan subsequently carried out of bringing the Prince disguised into Castile, the original scheme of the Archbishop having, through the defection of Montoya and Medinaceli, become impracticable. The members of the powerful house of Mendoza guarded the whole line of frontier extending between Almazan and Guadalajara; and time was wanting to assemble the forces of the nobles who favoured the cause of Isabel, while those of the King of Aragon, being entirely engrossed by the war in Catalonia, the Prince could command none to accompany him, and the enterprise appeared hopeless.

The envoys having reached Saragossa on the 25th or 26th September, the Prince, advised of their arrival, secretly repaired to the convent of San Francisco where they had taken up their quarters. The mode of entering Castile having been the subject of warm discussion, was finally referred to King Juan, then in Urgel superintending the operations of the war with the Catalans. Determined, whatever the King might decide, to undertake the journey, Ferdinand* in the meanwhile made all the necessary preparations for it. The better to conceal its real object, he caused it to be reported that he was about to join his father. Under pretence of sending an embassy with gifts to Enrique, a trustworthy messenger was dispatched in advance with such baggage as was indispensable, the Castilian envoys also taking their departure with countenances whose expression seemed to indicate the ill success of their journey. These details, though they may appear tediously minute, present too vivid a picture of the state of the country, of the extensive system of *espionage* established, and of the extreme precautions to which the consciousness of being continually under the surveillance of the agents of Villena compelled even the Prince of a neighbouring state to resort, to be omitted.

In the meanwhile, Juan, consulted as to the course

* Nor was this the first manifestation of the Prince's interest in Isabel. Some few weeks previous to the present occasion, when the Infanta, then in Madrigal, was threatened with imprisonment, Ferdinand, being apprised of the fact, was with the utmost difficulty dissuaded from setting out, with only two followers, to attempt her rescue, or share her dangers.

to be pursued, was in great perplexity. The long protracted war with his refractory Catalan subjects had exhausted his pecuniary resources, while the daily expected entrance of the French precluded the possibility of his withdrawing any portion of his forces for the purpose of giving a suitable escort to the Prince. On the other hand, he could not think of advising this, his only son, to undertake a hair-brained expedition little consonant with the gravity of royal etiquette in Spain, however well it might adorn the pages of a romance. Yet Juan could not resign himself to relinquish the prize he had so ardently coveted, and to obtain which he had not only lavished funds that he could ill spare, but also sacrificed his gallant son Carlos, and involved himself in a long war with a large portion of his subjects.* In this dilemma he refused to take

* Juan II., one of the most crafty monarchs of his time, was well aware of the advantages which would result from his son's marriage with Isabel. He had been desirous of the alliance when her chances of the succession were comparatively small, and his anxiety for it could not but increase as these chances became certainties. On the death of Alfonso, he had immediately dispatched Pierres de Peralta, Constable of Navarre, to Castile, with full powers from himself and his son, to win, with promises of towns, castles, honours, and dignities, the nobles and prelates whose influence could bring about the consummation of his wishes. Zurita has devoted a whole chapter to the enumeration of the extravagant promises and large gifts made to the several lords of Castile and to the Pope's Legate. Peralta was commissioned to endeavour to conciliate the lords of the opposite party, including Pacheco himself; and, above all, the members of the powerful house of Mendoza, to whom Enrique had confided the guardianship of his daughter, and who refused to admit the claims of any other heir to the crown. To this effect, Peralta was intrusted with blank parchments, signed by Juan and his son, to be filled up accord-

the responsibility of this perilous step, leaving it entirely to the judgment of the Prince and his council. On the receipt of this answer, Ferdinand immediately set out for Castile. The little party, numbering six persons, including the guide, passed the frontiers without halting until they reached a village between Gomora and Osma. Here, being compelled to rest some hours, they represented themselves to be merchants; and, the better to avoid recognition, the Prince officiated as servant to his companions, waiting on them at supper, and attending to the mules. Taking advantage of the darkness, they set out again towards midnight, but had not proceeded two leagues when they found themselves minus the purse containing the sum that was to defray their travelling expenses, and which had been forgotten at the inn. This little mishap was quickly repaired, however, one of the party,

ing to the wishes of the parties to whom they were to be offered. The members of Isabel's household, Gonzalo Chacon; his wife, Clara Alvarez, who had brought up the Infanta; his nephew, Gutierre de Cárdenas; and her secretary, Hernan Nuñez de Toledo, were all won to advocate the cause of Aragon. In May, 1469, Juan again sent to Castile a large sum, to be distributed according to the advice of the Archbishop of Toledo. The agent, Pedro de la Cavalleria, and his colleague, Alfonso de Palencia, a follower of the Archbishop, were charged to endeavour to win, by all means, Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, the head of the Mendoza family, and Don Juan Pacheco; but, notwithstanding the large offers made to them, these lords persisted in supporting the rights of the Princess Juana, and refusing to sanction the union of Isabel and Ferdinand. The anxiety of Juan to prevent his eldest son from marrying the Infanta, that his youngest might secure the prize, was one of the chief reasons for his unjust treatment of Carlos.

famed for his swiftness, returning for it, and again joining his companions ere they had doubled the distance.*

With these indispensable precautions, the little band was enabled to traverse in safety the space between Saragossa and the borough of Osma, a distance not long, but perilous, from the disturbed state of the country, occupied as it was by the forces of lords hostile to the Prince. They arrived in the middle of the night of the 6th of October at the gates of the borough, into which they expected to be admitted without difficulty. The Prince's companions, weary with their hurried journey of two days and nights, without sleep, and with but a short interval of rest, and at an inclement season of the year, were completely exhausted; but Ferdinand, whose buoyant spirits were sustained by the cheering prospect of soon reaping the reward of his courage and perseverance, was less affected by physical ills, and himself knocked for admittance. The sentinel, mistrusting the intentions of these nocturnal visitors, responded to the call by throwing a stone, which, barely escaping the Prince's head, had nearly rid Enrique of all farther trouble in preventing the union. The Prince's voice was fortunately recognised by some of his faithful adherents, who were constantly on the alert in expectation of his arrival, and the Count of Treviño,

* Other authorities state, that the Prince repaired in the first instance to Valencia, to take possession of the sum of money which it had been determined he should pay down on his marriage; a circumstance which would naturally cause the incident of the imprudence mentioned in the text to assume a much more important character. —Ed.

who was also awaiting it, issued from the town with his armed followers, to salute him. The borough being hostile to the Prince, he did not enter it, but, accompanied by the Count, forded the river and proceeded to Osma, where they found the escort sent by the Princess, and the remainder of the journey was accomplished in comparative safety. On his arrival at Dueñas, Ferdinand was greeted by a number of Castilian nobles, who, apprised of his expected arrival, had assembled there to do him honour.

The joy of Isabel on hearing of the proximity of her intended husband, was proportioned to the anxiety she had felt for his safety; and the good news was hailed with great rejoicings by the little Court at Valladolid. Aware that Enrique could now place no impediment to the consummation of her wishes, the Infanta wrote to him, vindicating her proceedings, and soliciting his approbation of her choice. If we take into consideration the contempt Isabel entertained for her brother's authority, and that she had not the slightest idea of waiting for his sanction, we shall perceive that this step was manifestly in pursuance of the system of prudent policy adopted by her wise counsellors, which, while it tended to exonerate the Infanta, endeavoured to attach all blame to Enrique.

In this letter, after setting forth the moderation she had displayed in refusing at Avila the title of Queen, which, on the death of Alfonso, belonged of right to her; the wrong which the King had sought to do her by attempting to deprive her of her liberty; and the injustice he had done the Queen, her mother, whom he

had despoiled of her town of Arévalo, she enumerated the disadvantages that would have attended her acceptance of any suitor but the Prince of Aragon, and the favourable results that would follow her union with the latter, in behalf of which she alleged the opinions of the majority of the nobles; she concluded with an earnest entreaty that he would give his approbation to her marriage with Ferdinand, whose filial respect for him she offered to guarantee; and protestations of her own resolution to obey and honour him as her elder brother, a lord, and a father.

On the 14th, towards midnight, the Prince, with a few confidential attendants, entered Valladolid, and was conducted, by the Archbishop of Toledo, through a postern gate that opened on the fields, to the apartment of Isabel. The pleasure of this interview, obtained after so many obstacles had been surmounted, was lessened by no disagreeable surprise or disappointment in the expectations each had formed of the other. The personal charms of Isabel, then in her nineteenth year, are extolled by all her contemporary chroniclers; and the portrait preserved of her present features which, though indicating no very high order of intellect, have a pleasing expression, and the symmetrical regularity that constitutes one of the three distinctives of beauty. Her blue eyes, fair complexion, and auburn hair, were perhaps derived from her English ancestress, Catherine of Lancaster, though these peculiarities are common in the northern provinces of Spain. The dignity of her manner was tempered by a graceful affability, which she had probably acquired from the early necessity of

conciliating those whose friendship was indispensable to her interests.

Nor was Ferdinand less gifted by nature with those personal advantages for which his mistress has been so greatly praised. Though a year younger than the Infanta, his form was manly, and his well-knit limbs had been strengthened and developed by the hardships and exposure that had already bronzed his naturally fair complexion. The helmet worn from childhood had slightly thinned the luxuriance of the dark brown hair that waved over his handsome brow, and the portraits preserved of him present regular and handsome features. In education, however, he was inferior to Isabel—his own, in consequence of the perturbed state of his father's kingdom, having been greatly neglected. At the age of ten years, he had been compelled to abandon his studies to accompany the Queen, his mother, from place to place in her revolted domains; and the active life of a soldier having from that period superseded that of the student, his scholastic accomplishments were limited to the primary branches of reading and writing.

On the entrance of the Prince, he was pointed out to Isabel by Gutierre de Cárdenas, who, in commemoration of this incident, was authorised to place the letters S S on his shield, in allusion to the exclamation he uttered at the time: *"Ese es, Ese es"*—(This is he); the pronunciation of these words resembling in Spanish that of the letters.

During this visit, at which the Archbishop, according to a previous agreement, was present, the marriage

articles were ratified, and the ceremonial of the nuptials arranged, with the assistance of a notary, and in the presence of competent witnesses; and the Prince, having presented to his bride the customary gifts of betrothal, to avoid suspicion retired before dawn. The prudence and forethought shown by Isabel, in the clauses of the marriage contract, securing the fueros of Castile from any infringement on the part of her husband, have been the theme of praise to her biographers.

It is with no wish to detract from the merit of this Princess that the reader is reminded that her every action, at that period, was dictated or controlled by the Archbishop of Toledo and Don Fadrique, both natives of Castile; and that the immense domains which these lords possessed in their native land could not but prove, apart from any patriotic motive, a sufficient inducement to make them careful of its interests.

The principal clauses of the marriage contract were the following:—The Prince bound himself to preserve inviolate the fueros and privileges of the Castilians; to honour and obey King Enrique; to appoint none but natives to civil offices, and to make no appointments whatsoever without the concurrence of his wife; to reside in Castile, and never to absent himself therefrom without the previously-obtained consent of Isabel; to suffer every Castilian noble, and especially the Archbishops of Toledo and Seville, to remain unmolested in the enjoyment of their honours and estates; to forbear from ever demanding the restitution of the estates that had formerly belonged to his father; to

maintain inviolate the honours and privileges of Isabel after her accession to the throne; to make neither peace nor war without her consent; to cause the offspring that might be born of the marriage to be educated in Castile; and, finally, to prosecute the war with the Moors.

The jointure settled on Isabel exceeded that hitherto assigned to any Queen of Aragon.

On the 19th, the marriage was celebrated in the house of Juan de Vivero, upwards of two thousand lords, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, and other individuals of every rank and profession, being present. Mariana tells us, that the pecuniary resources of this King of Sicily, Crown Prince of Aragon, Prince of Girona, Duke of Montblanc, Count of Rivagorza, and lord of the town of Balaguer, were so poor that, to defray the expenses of his nuptials with the Infanta and presumptive heiress of the crown of Castile, he was under the necessity of borrowing.

While an event that threatened results most fatal to his daughter's interests was taking place, Enrique remained inactive in Seville. The Grand-Master of Santiago* being refused admittance into the town by the inhabitants, caused the King to join him in the neighbouring village of Cantillena, and there communicated to him the intelligence of a disobedience it was too late to prevent. The indolent monarch, roused

* Shortly after the battle of Olmedo, Don Juan Pacheco had been created Grand-Master of Santiago, one of the highest dignities in Castile, and, having subsequently resigned the Marquisate of Villena to his son, should be designated by his new title.

from his apathy, set out on his return to Castile; but having, to gratify some caprice of his minister, lost time in rambling through Estremadura, he there received the letter written to him by Isabel, a few days previous to her marriage, and to which he replied verbally that he would attend to its contents on his arrival in Segovia. Anxious to conciliate him, the Prince and Princess wrote to the King in the following November, announcing their marriage, and inclosing such extracts of the contract as were best calculated to allay his wrath. They also wrote to the Count of Plasencia and other lords, whom they knew to be possessed of influence in the King's councils, to induce them to use it in their behalf, and promote the desired reconciliation. Enrique vouchsafed no more formal reply to this letter than he had done to the first, merely saying to the bearer, that, "on the arrival of the nobles whom he had summoned to join him in Segovia, where he then was, he would lay the matter before his council."

The King of France, at this juncture, offering to the Princess Juana the hand of his brother, the rejected suitor of Isabel, it was eagerly accepted by Enrique, who trusted that this alliance would greatly strengthen his daughter's cause; and the French ambassadors were, in consequence, pompously received by the Court, in Medina del Campo. The envoy intrusted by the Duke of Guienne with full powers to conclude the marriage, was the Count of Boulogne; while, as his colleague, and in behalf of the King of France, came

the same Cardinal of Arras,* who, on the occasion of a former embassy, was so deeply wounded by the cold reception he had met with from Isabel. This prelate is described by the French and Italian historians as one of the ablest negotiators of his day, but of a cruel, fickle, and perfidious nature. The conduct of the Castilian Infanta had stung his pride, and his subsequent residence at the Court of Rome having given him excellent opportunities of ascertaining the fact of the forgery of the bull of dispensation under which she was married,† he now had the means of

* Though this prelate came twice to Castile as a confidential agent of the Duke of Guienne, he was strongly suspected of having had a hand in the death of that Prince, which occurred two years afterwards, and which was attributed to poison, administered by the orders of his brother, Louis the Eleventh. That the Cardinal was instrumental in causing the death of the Count of Armagnac is a well-authenticated fact. That Prince left Castile and returned to France on the strength of a safe conduct given him by the Cardinal, who, on the very day that was to prove the last of the life of the hapless victim of Louis, had partaken of the sacrament of the communion, and shared the holy water with the Count as a sacred pledge that no harm should come to him. A few hours subsequently, the Cardinal permitted his *protégé* to be stabbed in his presence. "But," adds the chronicler, "God did not permit so cruel a wrong to go unpunished, and the false prelate perished, consumed by an unknown fire, for which no remedy could be found."

† The bull of dispensation authorising the marriage of the cousins, and used on that occasion, was a spurious document, prepared by the orders of the King of Aragon and his son, both of whom were too well aware of the favour with which Pope Paul II. regarded Enrique, to venture an application to Rome for such a document. That Isabel herself was not cognizant of the forgery, is most probable, as her religious scruples would not have permitted her to avail herself of such means.

avenging his own griefs. In the public audience granted to him in Medina, by Enrique, for the purpose of receiving in form the proposal of which he was one of the bearers, he inveighed bitterly against the marriage of Isabel, denouncing it as illicit and criminal, in terms too gross and insulting to be recorded here.

From Dueñas, whither Isabel had removed in the beginning of May, to await her confinement, she addressed another letter, dated June 18th, to Enrique, which was productive of no better results than the preceding ones. The pecuniary resources of herself and the Prince were in the meanwhile so slender, that their little Court was exceedingly straitened, even the royal table being but sparingly furnished.

In the September of this year, a violent conflict took place in Valladolid, between the so-called *old* Christians and the *new*. The former, under pretence that the latter, who were either converted Jews or the children of such, still adhered in secret to the tenets and observances of the faith they had renounced, took up arms against all who belonged to the hated race. The true motive of the outbreak was the envy created by the wealth for which the Hebrews were famed; and the determination to despoil them gave

When she became aware of the deceit that had been practised, it was a source of great vexation to her, though she could make no complaint without implicating Ferdinand. Hence her subsequent reply to the charge preferred against her on that score, that "she had acted according to the dictates of her conscience," &c., doubtless alluded to the good faith with which she had proceeded.

rise to a series of massacres and outrages, which it became a matter of some difficulty to put a stop to. Juan de Vivero, who was one of the most influential inhabitants of the town, having taken part with the *old* Christians, in order to support that party more effectually, induced the Prince and Princess to return to Valladolid, and lodged them in his own house, which was built against the town wall, and additionally strengthened by barricades. The majority of the citizens, however, were in favour of the King,* and determined to seize the Princes, who barely escaped this peril by a precipitate retreat to Dueñas, whither they were accompanied by their host, who deemed it unsafe to remain, and by the Archbishop of Toledo. Some powerful hand being needed to quell the disorder, the Jews, who constituted the weaker party, threw themselves on the protection of Enrique, who immediately answered the appeal in person, and thus repossessed himself of his town, of which, ere he returned to Segovia, he named the Count of Benavente governor; also bestowing on him the houses of Juan de Vivero, whose conduct had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the King.

The *fracas* of Valladolid is one of the many instances we find detailed of the contempt entertained for authority, and of the disorderly conduct of all ranks of

* It would appear from this that the residence of Isabel in Valladolid had contributed to alienate, rather than win the good-will of its inhabitants, as this town was, when she first entered it, devoted to the interests of the Archbishop and Admiral, and had joyfully afforded her refuge from the resentment of Enrique.

society at that unhappy period. Of the wretched state of the fertile, the rich, the beautiful, and populous Castile, during the closing years of the reign of Enrique, something has been said in the concluding pages of Vol. I. To the horrors of civil war were added the feuds of the nobles. These powerful barons, unrestrained by fear or shame, at the head of numerous and well-armed followers, waged open war with each other, committing the most wanton depredations on the lands of the friends, adherents, and vassals of their foes, and making their private quarrels the sources of public calamities. Rapine, murder, and incendiarism, unchecked and unpunished, stalked abroad in the blaze of the noonday sun, spreading ruin and desolation through the doomed land.

The insolence of the nobles, and the uncurbed licence of the lower classes, had converted the sacred name of law into a meaningless by-word. The agriculturist, when he ventured to commit the seed to earth, did it in fear and trembling; for the fruits, if gathered at all, were frequently seized by roving bands of desperadoes. Each farm (*dehesa*) was a petty fortress.* A famine, which, commencing in 1470, and lasting several years, added its pangs to the accumulation of suffering that threatened to depopulate the land, was the inevitable consequence of this state

* The farm-houses in Spain still bear the name given them at a period when the incursions of the neighbouring Moors were the daily dread of their proprietors—*Dehesa* (protected ground), a name never better adapted to the need of the inmates than in the reign of Enrique IV.

of things. The towns, divided by factions, perpetually objects of dispute to the contending claimants for power, one day acknowledging one lord, and the next another, were continually the scenes of anarchy and confusion.

An incredible adulteration of the gold coin was detected, and this had been carried to such an extent, that every piece of coin was intrinsically worth but half its nominal value. Those nobles whose rank and high office gave them the power to mitigate the evils that afflicted the commonwealth, were too intent on making an advantageous barter of their influence with one or other of the candidates for the crown, for additional lands or titles, to give their attention to the interests of the nation; while the worthless and imbecile sovereign sought in the forests adjoining Segovia, in the pursuit of his favourite pastime of the chase, to forget every duty, and turned a deaf ear to the groans of his people. Noble women, whose rank and sex had in this land of chivalry been hitherto insuperable and sacred barriers against outrage, now found these ineffectual to save them from insult, and even death; while they themselves not unfrequently tempted danger by the active part they took in the hazardous game carried on by their relatives. The Countess of Santa Marta in Galicia, while residing in a town of her own domains, was put to death by the poniards of the citizens, who, however, permitted her son to take possession of his inheritance, and submitted peacefully to his authority; while the young lord, forgetting all filial resentment in the prudent care of his own inte-

rests, forebore taking any steps to punish the assassins of his mother.

Two noble maidens, daughters of the Countess of Medellin, while on their way from Toledo to Guadalupe, under the protection of a hundred and fifty horsemen, were compelled with all their suite, to take refuge in the church and monastery of Trujillo, where they remained many days, one of the knights commanding their escort being also severely wounded in resisting the attack made on them by the inhabitants of the town. The Countess of Medellin held prisoners several gentlemen, friends of Doña Elvira de Zañiga, Lady of Benalcúzar, and connections also of other nobles of Trujillo; and it was in retaliation that the Lady Elvira and her allies had assembled a numerous force to seize the two maidens, together with the captains of their escort. The Trujillanos surrounded the sanctuary, into which even the steeds of the pursued had been admitted; but the monks, who had placed the maidens with their female attendants in the cloister, and the soldiers with their horses in the body of the church, supplying their unexpected guests with provisions and forage, they were enabled to sustain the siege some time.

The besiegers, at length, cutting off the supplies of water, and other necessaries, the monks applied to the King, entreating his interference; and Enrique deputed Castillo, from whose pages this incident is taken, to negotiate between the belligerent parties. After much discussion, the knights commanding the escort agreed, on certain conditions, to place them-

selves in the hands of the chiefs of the Trujillanos; but this did not satisfy the latter, who insisted that the maidens should also be given up to them. Remonstrance was unavailing, though Castillo asserts that he pleaded hard for the little victims of the quarrels of their relatives, and for the inviolability of the sanctuary. It was finally determined, between the Prior and the King's envoy on one side, and the Trujillanos on the other, that the latter should break open the gates, and forcibly possess themselves of the children; thus, in appearance, sparing the holy men the shame of giving up those who had sought the protection of the sacred walls. To this species of compromise they were led to accede, from the knowledge which they had obtained of a plot formed by the soldiers in the church, who, wearied of being thus immured, had determined to purchase their own release, by giving up their officers.

Some days elapsed ere the church, which had been turned into barracks and stables, could be sufficiently purified to permit of divine service being resumed in it; and the King, to whom his historiographer returned a detailed account of what had taken place, expressed great satisfaction that the consecrated buildings were at length freed from such troublesome inmates; but gave himself no farther trouble concerning the hapless objects of the strife, nor, indeed, is anything more said of them.

Nor were acts of injustice and violence perpetrated solely to avenge real or imaginary griefs, or in defence of rights and opinions. Ambition and the inordinate

desire of wealth sought their own gratification indiscriminately, at the expense of friend as well as foe, ally as well as opponent. It mattered little who was the sufferer so the desired end was attained. The Count of Benavente, son-in-law of the Grand-Master, laid siege to a town within the domains of the Duchess of Villalva, which happened to suit his fancy, and having, after a stout resistance from its inhabitants, possessed himself of it, he fortified and kept it, though the lady was enlisted under the same political banner, being, as well as himself, a firm adherent of King Enrique. The chronicles, satirical poems, and private correspondence of that reign, present vivid pictures of the corruption and depravity that then tinctured every rank and station of society.

Indeed, even had the sovereign possessed the inclination, it needed a firmer mind than he was endowed with to master the difficulties, and remedy the evils that had been allowed to grow and gather strength for nearly half a century. Down to the reign of the Catholic monarchs,* the Government retained faint traces of the old Gothic system, when the King was but a bold warrior, whom his companions, in acknowledgment of his superior bravery and ability as a leader in their marauding excursions, raised on a shield and acclaimed as the first among them. The Spanish sovereign was less the supreme head of the nation than the chief of the lords, whose power often equalled, if

* Though the surname of "Catholic" had previously been given to other sovereigns of Spain, Isabel and Ferdinand are always designated by the title of "The Catholic Monarchs."

it did not surpass, his own. Alvaro de Luna, the favourite of Juan II., was lord of sixty towns and fortresses, could muster twenty thousand vassals, and kept three thousand lancers in pay, while his annual revenue amounted to one hundred thousand doblas of gold. The Constable Dávalos, in the reign of Enrique III., could ride on his own lands from Seville to Compostella; that is, almost from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. During the reign of Enrique, the Counts of Benavente derived from their estates the revenue, enormous for that age, of sixty thousand ducats a year; the Count of Cabra and the Marquis of Villena, were each possessed of a similar income, while many lords had revenues of from fifty to fifty-five thousand ducats.* The broad lands which had not unfrequently been conquered from the Moors by the good sword of some not very remote ancestor of the present owner, the numerous vassals, well-armed and well-disciplined retainers, the ample revenues of these haughty lords, rendered them formidable antagonists; and the strength of the sovereign lay chiefly in the rivalry that constantly divided them. It was not until the close of the fifteenth century that the dangerous power of the aristocracy was curtailed, and that of the commons dexterously brought in to counterbalance it.

The province of Guipuzcoa and Biscay remonstrated

* A detailed enumeration of the titles, dignities, and revenues of the Castilian nobles is given in the works of a contemporary, Lucio Marineo Siculo, Cosas Memorables de España, (Alcala de Henares, 1539).

strongly against the French alliance, and the province of Andalusia still continued faithful to Isabel; but Enrique persisted in his designs, and the betrothal* took place on the 26th of October, in the vale of Lozoya, between Buytraygo and Segovia. The ceremony was performed with exceeding pomp, the King and Queen taking a solemn oath of the legitimacy of the Princess. Juana, then in her ninth year, was magnificently apparelled, and wore a garland of gold leaves and precious stones in her hair. A numerous suite of nobles accompanied the Princess, who was, with the usual ceremonies, once more proclaimed heiress to the crown of Castile.

This act was followed by a manifesto published by Enrique, in which he exonerated himself from the charge of fickleness that might be preferred against him, for having deprived his sister of the rights he had himself conferred upon her two years before; alleging that by her disobedience to his express commands, as well as to the laws that prohibited the marriage of a King's daughter unless sanctioned by the Cortes,† she had forfeited those rights. Furthermore, that the marriage not having received the licence of the Church of Rome, was illegal and incestuous.

The tide of public favour, which had hitherto run high for Isabel, now rapidly began to decline. The solemn declaration of the sovereigns respecting the legitimacy of the Princess Juana, the sanction given to

* Of the Princess Juana and the Duke de Guienne.—Ed.

† Isabel had urged this same law when it was convenient to her interests, on the occasion of the proposal of the King of Portugal.

her claims by the alliance of France, whose power threatened to weigh heavily in the balance against those of her rival, and the stigma attached to a marriage unsanctioned by the Church; all these were motives calculated to influence the nobles. Among those who now turned to the reigning monarch, were several lords who had hitherto favoured Isabel. The Pope, who had ever been a staunch friend of Enrique, and who was, moreover, greatly offended by the fraud practised in the matter of the dispensation, summoned the Bishop of Segovia to appear within ninety days at the Court of Rome, to answer for the part which he had taken in the transaction; and he also appointed a committee of four canons to admonish the Archbishop of Toledo to abandon the cause of Isabel.

These ill-tidings reached the Princess at the period of the birth of her first child, a daughter, born October 2nd, 1470. From quarters whence she had least cause to expect it, came fresh uneasiness; even her friends adding to her troubles. The Archbishop of Toledo, whose irritable and jealous temper could ill brook any partners in the favour shown to him by Princes whom he had placed under such great obligations to himself, began openly to express his displeasure that his counsels no longer met with the attention which had formerly been paid to them, while others were consulted in preference to him. The principal objects of his jealousy were the Admiral and Gutierre de Cárdenas. The old King of Aragon was no sooner apprised of the dissatisfaction of the powerful prelate, than, forseeing the preponderance which the

opposite party would acquire should he join it, he wrote to his son repeatedly, and in the most urgent terms, desiring him to agree in all things with the Archbishop, and to follow his advice implicitly, even in preference to that of Don Fadrique, who, being the Prince's grandfather, would not be likely to forsake his cause.

Ferdinand would willingly have complied with the injunctions of his father, and both himself and Isabel endeavoured to conciliate the fiery prelate; but it was now almost beyond their power to do so, the Prince having, in a fit of impatience, forgotten the dictates of prudence so far as to tell the Archbishop that "he did not intend to allow himself to be governed as some Kings of Castile had done, coming thereby to great loss." The breach was still farther widened by a quarrel which took place between Don Alonso de Búrgos, chaplain of the Princess, and Ferdinand de Alancon, a favourite servant of the Archbishop. Disregarding the presence of the Princess, the angry disputants, from words came to blows, using their staffs to excellent effect over each other's shoulders; upon which, Isabel, justly incensed, ordered the friar to absent himself from the palace for some days, and exiled Alancon from her Court. The sentence was deemed partial and unjust by the Archbishop, and therefore not carried into effect; but the incident tended to increase rather than to diminish his resentment.

The coldness between the Princes and their host

rendering a longer residence in his domains exceedingly disagreeable, they removed, in January, 1471, to Medina de Rioseco, then under the jurisdiction of Don Alonso Enriquez, by whose advice they were entirely governed, to the exceeding displeasure of the Archbishop. While in Rioseco, Ferdinand made an unsuccessful attempt to possess himself of Tordesillas.

To the deplorable indecision of the minister, whose duty it was to protect the blind and passive driveller who leaned on him for support, and left all the cares of government to his charge—a trust he most foully betrayed—the Princes were once more indebted for escape from an imminent peril. The King, animated by some latent spirit of which he had hitherto appeared incapable, issued his summons to his liegemen to assemble and assist him in ejecting the expectants who awaited but his last breath to wrest the crown from his child. The promptness with which the sovereign's mandate was obeyed by his nobles at the head of forces sufficient to have crushed or expelled the obnoxious Princes, proved that the majority were still favourable to the cause of Enrique. One prompt, decisive move, and all hopes of the throne were lost to Isabel. But again the counsels of the traitor-minister prevailed, the fire that had been awakened in the breast of the King was but an evanescent flame, that flickered and expired as soon as kindled, and the nobles who had rallied in Medina del Campo to assert his rights, at his bidding dispersed to their homes—the Grand-

Master thinking that it was better to try conciliatory measures than force of arms.*

This miserable policy soon bore its fruit. The Duke of Guienne, disgusted with the double dealing of the favourite, which continually excited hopes he as often contrived to frustrate, gave himself no farther concern about his engagement to the Castilian Princess, and solicited the hand of the daughter and heiress of the Duke of Burgundy ;† and while in pursuit of this new object, was overtaken by death in Bordeaux, May, 1472. Enrique, after the defection of the French Prince, endeavoured to bring about a marriage between

* Many were the opportunities of retrieving his fortunes lost to Enrique by the shuffling manœuvres of his counsellor. The authority of the Church, a weapon of inestimable value, was, in the preceding year, in consequence of idle, timorous, and incomprehensible delays, made no use of, the canons commissioned to proceed against the Archbishop being commanded by the King to forbear taking any steps at the time. Pope Paul II. dying in August of that year, and his successor showing himself disposed to favour Isabel, the measure that would have proved so efficacious in depriving her of her chief and most powerful support, was rendered abortive. The Bishop of Segovia was also excused from obeying the injunction to appear in Rome.

† Maria, daughter of Charles the Bold. She married the Emperor Maximilian I., and gave birth to Philip the Handsome, who became King of Spain, by his marriage with Juana the Fool.

Another and a more probable cause has been assigned for the secession of the Duke de Guienne. Louis XI. despite the solemn pledge of Enrique and his Queen to the contrary, retained his suspicion of the illegitimacy of the Princess, and the consequent validity of her claim to the crown of Castille ; and thus impressed, he availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the vacillating policy of the Grand-Master to break off the marriage.—Ed.

his daughter and her uncle, the King of Portugal, and the two sovereigns met to confer on the subject, between Badajoz and Yelves. That the interview was followed by no satisfactory results was as usual attributable to the want of confidence inspired by the hopeless dependence of Enrique. Badajoz was then in the hands of the Count de Féria, who, being an enemy of the Grand-Master, insolently refused to admit his sovereign within its gates, giving as a reason that he knew the King's intention was to bestow the town on his favourite. So palpable a proof of the weakness of his brother-in-law could not but excite the contempt of the Portuguese sovereign, who, convinced that no faith could be placed in one thus enslaved, refused to accede to any proposals of Enrique, and returned to his own dominions. The insatiable rapacity of the Grand-Master continued in the meanwhile to occasion great losses to the King, whom he incessantly importuned for new concessions of towns, which were no sooner granted, than their inhabitants, rather than submit to the sway of the favourite, successively raised the standard of Isabel.

Disappointed in his third scheme for marrying his daughter, Enrique determined to bestow her on his cousin and namesake, the Infante Enrique of Aragon, Duke of Segorbe.* On the faith of the King's promise, the Infante and his mother came to Castile without the knowledge of Juan, who would certainly have

* Son of the Infante Henry who was killed in the battle of Olmedo.—Ed.

taken measures to prevent a step so likely to prove prejudicial to his son's interests.* The supercilious pride and haughty demeanour with which this suitor received the salutations of the Castilian nobles who hastened to welcome him on his arrival, gave them great offence; and the minister, who thought it more conducive to his interests that the Princess should remain unmarried, and in his power as a tool to keep both parties in subjection, threw so many obstacles in the way that the marriage was delayed and eventually broken off.

Juana had, almost from her birth, been under the charge of the house of Mendoza, and these powerful lords, the hitherto firm as well as chief supporters of her cause, having taken umbrage in consequence of the Princess being removed from their guardianship and placed in that of the Marquis of Villena at the period of her betrothal to the French Prince, being now still farther exasperated by the delay of the fulfilment of some promise made to one of them by the King, joined the party of Isabel; and during the

* Fernando having been informed of the King's intention to bestow his daughter on the Infante, not only wrote to advise his father of the fact, but went in person to induce him to use force to prevent it. Juan was, however, too fond of his nephew to be easily persuaded to put him in confinement, and could not be brought to credit his son's intelligence, being persuaded that the Grand-Master had caused it to be rumoured in order to occasion strife between the members of the royal house of Aragon. Doña Beatrix, mother of the Infante, when questioned on the subject by Juan, denied it *in toto*, but shortly after both mother and son secretly repaired to Castile, and, if the marriage was not accomplished, it was chiefly owing to the delays occasioned by the Grand-Master. The Infante was son of the Infante Enrique and nephew of the mother of Enrique IV.

summer of this year, the Legate of the new Pope, Sixtus IV., brought to Spain the bull of dispensation authorising the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel, which had been granted by the pontiff at their solicitation, within the fourth month of his pontificate. This important document greatly advanced the interests of the Princes.

The Archbishop of Toledo, who still adhered to the cause of Isabel, and beheld with jealous eyes her residence in the domains of Don Alonso Enriquez, was willing to be reconciled. Through the Archdeacon of Toledo he sent to offer her all the assistance of his wealth and influence to further her claims, and expressed his desire that she should return to his domains and allow him to furnish her with everything which she required. The offer being accepted, the Archbishop, at the head of a brilliant troop of three hundred horse, proceeded to Dueñas to receive his guests; but at the interview that took place there, the Archbishop having in the heat of discussion dropped some expressions displeasing to Isabel, she could not be persuaded to remain in Dueñas. The Admiral, however, using his influence to calm the irritation of both parties, a compromise was effected, the Princess consenting to reside in Tordelagunas, and the Archbishop to join her there. This plan was carried into effect towards the end of that year, and the Princes continued in that city until March of the following one.

While Ferdinand's attention was engrossed by the innumerable difficulties that surrounded him in Castile, the situation of his father had become exceedingly

critical. The death, in 1469, of the young Duke of Lorraine, and the subsequent submission of many of the principal Catalan nobles, did not put an end to the war. A strong party in Barcelona preferred submitting to the French King rather than return to the allegiance of a sovereign they had learned to hate; and the pretensions of Louis XI. to the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, received from these numerous partisans an encouragement that had well-nigh proved fatal to Juan, whose impoverished exchequer rendered it almost impossible for him to oppose an effectual check to the progress of his cunning antagonist. The unwearied constancy and ability of the veteran soldier-monarch, whose life had been divided between the toils of the cabinet and those of the field of battle, still managed to retrieve his affairs when at the lowest ebb; and, in 1472, the province of Ampurdan was taken possession of by the Aragonese. This fortunate event was shortly after followed by the submission of Barcelona.

In 1473, Perpignan and Elna, which had been left in the hands of Louis as guarantees for the payment of the three hundred thousand crowns he had advanced to Juan for the prosecution of the war with the Catalans, weary of the despotic sway of their French governors, suddenly rose and put their garrisons to the sword. The enraged Louis hastened to take measures to reduce the refractory towns, and a large army marched rapidly on Perpignan, the inhabitants of which had, in the meanwhile, claimed the protection of their natural sovereign. Juan im-

mediately seized the opportunity thus presented of repossessing himself of his towns; and throwing himself into Perpignan, took a solemn oath in the presence of its citizens, to abide with them the consequences of the step they had taken. The situation of the nearly octogenarian monarch was one of exceeding difficulty and danger, and he had to contend with the batteries of the citadel that had remained in the hands of the French, and those of the besiegers. But age had impaired none of the faculties of the undaunted Juan, who, with the cool intrepidity and indefatigable activity that had distinguished his younger days, took the wisest measures to prolong the defence. He also found himself ably seconded by the enthusiastic ardour of the inhabitants; and men, women, and children, conscious that they had incurred the vengeance of the implacable Louis, were alike determined to perish rather than submit.

Ferdinand, advised of the danger of his father, determined, with the concurrence of Isabel, to hasten to his assistance, though his own presence was not less necessary in Castile for the maintenance of his interests there. The Archbishop was the first to furnish the Prince with a body of Castilian horse, which was increased by another of sixty lances, officered by the Admiral's brother; and at the head of these troops Ferdinand passed into Aragon, where he was joined by numbers of the nobility. Rumour greatly exaggerated the numerical strength of the force Ferdinand was bringing to his father's aid, as reports had circulated through the French camp, that all the nobility of

Castile and Aragon accompanied the Prince. The siege had lasted three months, during which time the garrison of the citadel had been greatly diminished in frequent sallies on the besieged, and the Governor taken prisoner, while the besieging army had been decimated by an epidemic that had broken out in the camp. A snow-storm, added to the darkness of the night, prevented the real force of his army from being ascertained, and increased the terrors caused by the Prince's approach to the disheartened enemy; and the panic spreading rapidly through the ranks of the enfeebled soldiers, they struck their tents and retreated. The joy of the besieged, when at dawn of day they perceived that the enemy had departed, was somewhat damped by the fears which assailed Juan lest the French should have gone to meet his son, and he sallied forth to join him. But these fears were soon allayed; and the meeting of the father and son, who re-entered the town in triumph, is affectingly described by the old writers.

Juan was, however, in no condition to hold out for any length of time against so formidable an antagonist as the French monarch, and a truce of three months was agreed on, and signed on the 14th of July. The truce was succeeded by a treaty, in which Juan bound himself to leave Perpignan and Elna in the hands of the French monarch, until the sum lent by the latter should have been repaid, which, it was stipulated, should take place within the year. Louis, who in duplicity could well compete with Juan, had only agreed to the suspension of hostilities in order that

he might gain time to collect such an army as should ensure him the possession of the provinces which he had coveted from his youth; while the King of Aragon, who considered that Louis had played a double game, by assisting his revolted subjects at the very time when he was lending him money to carry on the war against them, was determined to seek every possible means of evading the payment of the debt, and repossessing himself of the contested domains.

Matters were in this condition when Ferdinand returned to Castile. During his absence the Pope's Legate had vainly endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the King and his sister, the Grand-Master finding means to foil all his efforts. But the minister, who had lately lost his wife, having been remarried to a daughter of the Count de Haro, he relaxed his surveillance of his royal pupil to spend some time in his own domains with his young bride, and, though he left in his place his son, the Marquis of Villena, to whom the King had become exceedingly partial, his absence proved very prejudicial to his interests.

For some time a pique had existed between the Grand-Master and Don Andres de Cabrera, Alcayde of Segovia. The Grand-Master was desirous of having this fortress in his own power, as, being the repository of the King's jewels, plate, and other treasures, it was of great importance; and cognizant of the correspondence carried on with Isabel by her friend Doña Beatrix de Bobadilla, the wife of Cabrera, the Grand-Master had frequently remonstrated with Enrique on the danger of placing so great a trust in one so likely to betray it.

On the other hand, the Alcayde and his consort incessantly reported to the King the dealings carried on by his favourite with the Princess. The monarch, too infirm of purpose to decide the debate, allowed the contending parties to battle it out between them as they could; and the result was a series of bickerings and attempts on the part of the Grand-Master to possess himself of Segovia, which were as often frustrated by the vigilance of Cabrera. The absence of the minister was taken advantage of by Doña Beatrix to persuade the easy Enrique to receive his sister's visit; and the active Alcaydesa fearing to trust so important a negotiation to any third person, was herself the agent, going and coming from Aranda, where Isabel was then residing, in the disguise of a peasant, and mounted on a mule.

The Princess having received sufficient guarantees for the safety of her person, did not hesitate to embrace the opportunity she had so long sought, and accompanied by the Archbishop, entered Segovia in the latter part of December, where she was affectionately received by her brother. The success with which Isabel vindicated her conduct may have probably been owing as much to the facility with which the stultified monarch yielded to any one who could gain access to him as to her powers of persuasion. Each day he spent some time with his sister, and the reconciliation was celebrated with many *fêtes* in Segovia, while the news of it was soon spread throughout Castile. A few days after his sister's arrival, she rode through the streets of Segovia, the King himself, to testify openly his renewed

affection, leading her palfrey. The Marquis of Villena, on hearing of the approach of Isabel, not deeming himself safe, had taken to horse and hastened to his own domains, leaving the King abandoned to the new influence which he felt himself powerless to oppose. At the solicitation of his sister, Enrique consented to receive her husband, and on the 1st of January, 1474, Ferdinand entered Segovia.

Peace was, however, of short duration. The King having partaken with the Princess of an entertainment at the residence of the Alcayde, on the 7th, was there taken ill; and the suddenness of the attack, joined to the malicious insinuations of the Grand-Master, who was fast regaining his ascendancy, so worked upon the mind of the King, that he allowed himself to be persuaded to endeavour to seize the persons of the Princess and the Alcayde, whom he looked upon as having caused his illness. Though the attempt was made by the Grand-Master, it was foreseen and frustrated; and the rupture with Enrique soon broke out again openly. Isabel was too well aware of the advantage she had gained in effecting an entrance into Segovia, willingly to abandon her position, which was ensured from further danger by Cabrera and his friends.

Though the King had never entirely recovered from the severe indisposition that had seized him at the entertainment given by Cabrera, he undertook an excursion into Estremadura, to gratify the Grand-Master, to whom the authority of the King's presence was necessary to put him in possession of the towns of which he had obtained the grant. The inhabitants of

Trujillo were willing to submit to the sway of the minister, but the Alcayde of the fortress made some objections which occasioned delay; and the King, who was suffering from the insalubrity of that part of the country, returned to Madrid, leaving his minister to the prosecution of his selfish plan of aggrandizement.

The arm of death was, however, already raised to arrest the arch-traitor in his career of iniquity; and while negotiating the surrender of the castle, he was taken ill of a malignant throat distemper, which put an end to his life in a few days.* The ruling passion, strong even unto death, is exemplified in the last words of this man, who had not in his nature one particle of honesty, and who was as impervious to remorse when entering the portals of the tomb, as he had been to shame throughout his life. Choked with the blood that streamed from his nose and mouth, and already struggling with the pangs of dissolution, his thoughts were bent on his new acquisition; and to those around him, who urged the necessity of preparing for eternity, his only reply, while he could yet speak, was an inquiry whether the Alcayde had given up the fortress.

Thus died Don Juan Pacheco, Grand-Master of the order of Santiago, Duke of Escalona, Count of Santistevan. Between the minister of Enrique and that of his father, no comparison can be drawn, though the agitated times during which they governed, the weak-

* The death of Don Juan Pacheco took place on the 4th of October, and is attributed by Zurita to the same singular and sudden disease which had caused that of his brother Don Pedro Giron.

ness of their sovereigns, and the power wielded by the favourites, present some similitude. Don Alvaro de Luna was possessed of qualities that entitled him to the respect and admiration of his worst foes, while of the perfidious counsellor of Enrique not one virtue was recorded to redeem his memory from the execration which he had so justly incurred.

Though his favourite had been the instrument of inflicting on the nation an unparalleled degree of misery, and had, at one time, openly endeavoured to dethrone the master whom he made no scruple of selling to his enemies when the price was sufficiently exorbitant to gratify his cupidity, Enrique bitterly grieved for him; and the shock produced on his weak mind, reacting on his debilitated frame, accelerated his own end, while the short period that he survived his minister, was devoted to the interests of the Marquis of Villena, on whom he lavished the same unreasoning affection formerly bestowed upon his father. The King not only confirmed to the son every grant made to the late minister; but also bestowed on him the Grand-Mastership of Santiago. But this high dignity was claimed by several other lords; and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Santillana, the Count of Benavente, and the Duke of Alburquerque fiercely disputed its possession. The Marquis of Villena, in his anxiety to secure the contested title, travelling from place to place with small precautions, was seized by the Count of Osorno, another claimant, who thought, by gaining possession of his rival's person, to force him to relinquish not only his pretensions to the Grand-

Mastership, but also the guardianship of the little Princess Juana, who was kept in the alcázar of Madrid.

The King, indignant at the outrage, hastened in person to effect the liberation of his favourite; but so little was the respect he inspired, that his efforts would have met with but poor success had they not been furthered by the Archbishop of Toledo. The haughty prelate, who considered that his services had been repaid with ingratitude by Isabel and her husband, was inclined to advocate the King's cause, though he did not as yet by any overt act renounce that which he had so warmly defended; and he now hastened to besiege Fuentidueña, a town belonging to Osorno. To accelerate the desired object, no scruple was entertained as to the means employed. Lope Vasquez de Acuña, the Archbishop's brother, having requested a parley with the Countess and her son, seized them both, making their liberty conditional on that of Villena, who was immediately released.

The fatigue and anxiety undergone by Enrique in this affair, prostrated the little strength which his protracted illness had left him, and he breathed his last in the alcázar of Madrid on the 11th of December, 1474.

Whether or not Enrique made a will has been matter of considerable dispute, and the contemporary writers have given such different accounts as to render it impossible to decide. Carbajal says the King left a will, which, falling into the hands of the partisans of his successor, was suppressed; but however plausible many

circumstances conduce to render this statement, as its author has rested it on no authority, it cannot be received as a fact. Enrique had ample time to execute this important document, but the improvident carelessness of his disposition makes it probable that if he did so, it was not until his last hour was fast approaching. It could have been omitted from no lack of paternal regard for the Princess Juana, whose interest was the only stimulus that could rouse his apathetic nature to exertion. While the Princess was under the charge of the Marquis of Santillana, the King frequently wrote to that nobleman letters breathing the most fervent affection for the royal child, and containing minute directions for the regulation of her diet, &c.

Nothing on the part of Enrique, in word or deed—save when his weak nature yielded to compulsion and the pressure of circumstances—ever tended to substantiate the stain of illegitimacy cast on his heiress, or to imply a doubt of his paternity; while witnesses of his last moments affirm that he then acknowledged her as his only child and his lawful successor; and when questioned if he had made his will, referred to his secretary, who was known to possess his entire confidence. The death-bed testimony of a bold, irreligious man of no moral character, could have but little weight; but with Enrique it is otherwise. It would have been little in accordance either with his pusillanimous nature, or with the tenets of a creed, in which, notwithstanding all his faults, he was a sincere believer, to have gone to the grave with a lie upon his lips. He

dared not, however lax his conscience might have been through life, have been false on the threshold of eternity, and perilled his soul to save another's worldly interests.

An additional argument in favour of the legitimacy of Juana was, that her reputed father, Beltran de la Cueva, Duke of Alburquerque, openly embraced the cause of her competitor—a course he would not have resorted to had there been any real ground for the foundation of the report.

Unfortunately for Juana, the Córtes had never revoked the allegiance which, at the request of Enrique himself, they had sworn to his sister after the amnesty of Toros de Guisando; and this circumstance, together with the lack of a will, and the fortress of Segovia, containing the late monarch's treasures, being in the hands of Cabrera, enabled Isabel to assume the authority, as well as the title, of Queen.

A circumstance, trivial in itself, but most important in its bearings, as revealing something of the character of Isabel, occurred at this crisis. Three days after the King's death, a messenger reached Barcelona,* with letters from the Archbishop of Toledo to the Prince, apprising him of the event which had taken place, and strenuously urging his speedy return. The missive, written immediately after the King had expired, was dated, "Alcalá de Henares, Dec. 12," and subscribed

* The Prince had gone to Barcelona to preside in his father's name over the Cortes, and to obtain from them a grant to defray the expenses of the war that had again broken out between the French King and Juan, who was then in the contested provinces.

To the most high and mighty Prince, King, and Lord, my Liege, the Sovereign of Castile, Leon, and Sicily, Prince of Aragon." Three days after the arrival of the Archbishop's messenger, an envoy reached Ferdinand from Isabel, containing the same intelligence, but in no way urging his return. The tone of the last letter was commented on by those surrounding the Prince, and ascribed to the advisers of Isabel, who were endeavouring to exclude her husband from any participation of power; upon which he immediately took measures to depute his authority as President of the Córtes to his sister the Infanta Juana, and hastened to Castile; where, having crossed the frontiers, he continued his journey with unfurled banners as King of Castile.

In the meanwhile Isabel had lost no time in causing the inhabitants of Segovia to proclaim her, which was done with the usual ceremonies, though the act was not graced by the presence of a single grandee. The clergy, magistrates, and chief citizens escorted the Princess, who was clothed in the royal robes and mounted on a white jennet, from the alcázar to the public square, where a platform had been erected for the occasion, and furnished with a throne, canopied with rich brocade. Isabel, having alighted from her steed, was conducted to the royal chair, of which she had no sooner taken possession than the royal standard was unfurled, and a herald, with a loud voice, cried, "Castile, Castile, for the King Don Fernando and his consort the Queen Doña Isabel, the proprietor of these realms!" The artillery from the castle, and

peals of bells from the churches, announced the accession of the new sovereign; and those present tendered their homage, and kissed her hand. The procession again forming, proceeded to the principal church—the clergy, members of the town council, and gentlemen, in the costumes appropriate to their rank and professions, led the way; then came Gutierre de Cárdenas, immediately preceding his mistress. He was the only man on horseback, and carried in his right hand one of the insignia of royalty—a drawn sword. The reins of Isabel's steed were held by two of the civic functionaries. On arriving at the church, the Princess knelt at the altar and returned thanks to God. She then took the customary oath that she would keep inviolate the laws of the realm, with the privileges and franchises of her subjects, and was greeted by Andres de Cabrera, who received her as his sovereign, and formally resigned the keys of the treasures of the late King into her hands. This was a most important point for Isabel—the post of Alcayde of the stronghold containing the treasury making him almost the arbiter to decide whether Isabel or the Princess Juana should be Queen.

Though the Segovians readily consented that Isabel should be proclaimed, they refused to swear allegiance to the absent Ferdinand, nor does it appear that she required it of them, or even mentioned it.*

* Ferdinand was exceedingly displeased that Isabel should have aken this step, and, on his departure from Saragossa, made the following remark to Palencia:—"Alfonso, thy learning far exceeds mine; tell me, didst ever read in thy histories of any woman acting

The first lords who repaired to Segovia to offer their homage to the new sovereign, were the Cardinal Mendoza and the Count of Benavente. These were soon followed by the Archbishop of Toledo, the Marquis of Santillana, the Duke of Alba, the Admiral of Castile, the Count of Treviño, the Constable of Castile, Don Pedro de Velasco, Count of Haro, and the Duke of Alburquerque. Many other lords sent deputies to offer their allegiance, and many towns raised the banner of Isabel.

Ferdinand, who had in the interim reached Torruégano, remained there three days, to allow time for deliberation as to the manner in which he should be received and proclaimed—this point having given rise to much discussion. The majority of the Castilian lords were of opinion that the Prince should be excluded from any participation in the government; some even going so far as to wish that he should be denied the title of King, quoting as a precedent the example of Raymond, Count of Barcelona, who, though he married the heiress of the crown of Aragon, never assumed the regal title. Nor were the adherents of Ferdinand less eager to vindicate the claims of their Prince. They quoted the examples of Ermesinda, Urraca, Berengaria, and others, Queens in their own right, whose husbands or sons had borne the title, and wielded the authority of sovereign; while some even asserted that Isabel herself was only en-

as the Queen has done? She writes to her husband to return at his leisure, and in his absence causes herself to be proclaimed with pomp and ceremony!"

titled to claim the crown through her marriage with Ferdinand, his father being the nearest male heir of the royal family of Castile: an assertion which could have no weight in a kingdom where the Salic law had never existed. The discussion was carried on with considerable acrimony; and it was observed that during the three days of Ferdinand's residence in Torruégano, he was not visited by Fray Alonso de Búrgos, Gutierre de Cárdenas, or Gonzalo Chacon—members of Isabel's household, and her most confidential advisers.

On the 2nd of January, 1475, Ferdinand entered Segovia, and was proclaimed in turn, the lords receiving him for their King as the husband of their sovereign, the heiress of the crown: while the debate which had hitherto been apparently confined to the nobles of either party, far from ceasing on the entrance of Ferdinand, was now carried on with no small degree of warmth between the royal consorts themselves, the Queen showing no disposition to relinquish her rights, and her husband appearing strangely to forget the stipulations of his marriage contract. A compromise was, however, finally agreed to; and the following settlement drawn up by the Archbishop of Toledo and the Cardinal, to whose arbitration the question was left. All civil offices and ecclesiastical benefits were to be conferred in the name of both consorts, and with the advice and consent of the Queen. All fiscal nominations and notes on the treasury to be signed by the Queen. The nomination of the Governors and Alcaydes of towns and fortresses was to belong exclusively to

the Queen. Justice was to be administered by the King and Queen conjointly, and by each independently. Proclamations and letters patent were to bear the names of both. The coin was to bear the effigies of both, and a common seal was to be engraved with the arms and names of both. The arms of Castile were to take precedence of those of Aragon, but the King's name was to precede that of the Queen.

This settlement, though drawn up on the basis of the original marriage contract, and far less definite and extensive than that document, was so little relished by Ferdinand that he threatened to return to his hereditary dominions. But Isabel was too well aware of the injury her cause would sustain should any rupture take place between her consort and herself, not to seek to allay his anger. With infinite prudence and tact she represented to him that the unequal distribution of power which placed all real authority in her hands was but nominal, as her will would never differ from his. Her strongest argument was that their only child being a female, that child's rights would be materially impaired should he object to the mother exercising an authority the daughter might one day be called to inherit. Moreover, the necessity for union at this critical juncture was obvious: the national prejudices of the Castilians imperatively demanded these concessions; and the Queen's arguments at length induced Ferdinand to accede to restrictions exceedingly galling to his pride.

But though circumstances had thus far combined

to favour Isabel, her tenure of the regal seat was yet very insecure. Many great barons considered the Princess Juana as one most grievously wronged. The youth, sex, and innocence of this competitor were arms of might, and she still had numerous partisans, some of whom, unmoved by chivalrous sentiments, embraced her cause in the hope of reigning under her name, should they succeed in placing her on the throne. Among these was the Marquis of Villena, who, following closely in his father's footsteps, was no mean adept in the art of political trickery. The first step of the friends of the Princess was one which, though exceedingly injurious to Isabel in the outset, was in the end ruinous to the cause it was intended to advance, for no blow could have been more fatal to the interests of Juana than the interference of Portugal.

The national hatred which for centuries has separated the two nations inhabiting the same peninsula, and between which nature has placed no barriers, is as vehement at the present day among the lower classes, as it was then when the disastrous field of Albajarota was yet fresh in the memory of those whose sires had fought there. The remembrance of the defeat which had caused the King Don Juan I. to wear mourning to the day of his death, still crimsoned with shame the brow of the proud Castilian, and swelled with triumph the breast of the vaunting Portuguese. This national prejudice more effectually served the cause of Isabel than any conviction of its justice; and the Commons especially, though at times obliged by some of the nobles to join the ranks of the invaders, looked

with abhorrence on the prospect of a union between the two countries.

Villena, who was of Portuguese extraction, was not likely to bear in mind the prejudices of the Castilians; and his confederates, swayed by their own party-feelings, heeding them as little, a message was sent to Alfonso V., adjuring him as a Prince, a knight, the nearest kinsman, and, (by her father's will,*) the affianced bridegroom of the wronged orphan, to extend his protection to her, and, by vindicating her rights, to establish his own to the crown of Leon and Castile. Villena represented to Alfonso that numbers of the Castilian lords were but waiting his entrance into Castile to join him at the head of their vassals, and he positively ensured to him the co-operation of his own brothers and cousins, of the Archbishop of Toledo, of Don Alvaro de Zúñiga, Count of Plasencia and Duke of Arévalo, and of various others.

This appeal to the chivalry and gallantry of the ancient paladin was successful, and the majority of the members of his council approving an enterprise that promised the acquisition of such an increase of power and dominion, he prepared to obey the summons.

* At the time of the death of Enrique IV., the King of Portugal was in Estremos, a town of his own frontiers, where he is said by the Portuguese historians to have received the message of the adherents of Juana together with the testament of the late monarch, naming him Regent of Castile, and entreating that he would marry the Princess.

Many, however, in the council, were less sanguine, and represented to the monarch that those who now volunteered their aid to set the Princess Juana on the throne, were the same who, during the late King's life, had crowned the Prince Alfonso, and branding her with the stain of illegitimacy, had pronounced her unfit to inherit. They bade the King pause, and consider whether the promises of men who had proved themselves double traitors, were to be relied on in the prosecution of so important an undertaking. The foremost among those who reprobated the idea of an invasion was the experienced and wise Duke of Braganza; who, when he found his sage counsels overruled, observed that he would do his duty and follow the King, but that he hoped his Majesty would not take it amiss if he kept in readiness relays of fleet horses for their escape.*

The inclination of Alfonso, whose martial ardour age could not chill, was too strongly in favour of the proposed plan to allow any considerations of prudence to influence him; and he was moreover strongly urged to it by his son, Prince Juan, in whose eyes the

* Alfonso, who was at this period a widower, had hitherto avoided any collision with Castile, and had remained resolutely neuter when appealed to by either party in the State; but at this juncture he threw off all constraint, and listening only to the dictates of his ambition, earnestly solicited from the Pope a dispensation to enable him to accomplish the unnatural marriage, by which his dreams of self-aggrandisement could alone be realized; and while awaiting the reply of the Sovereign Pontiff, he made vigorous preparations for the enforcement of what he declared to be the legal claims of his intended bride.—Ed.

enterprise was coloured with the gorgeous hues of romance. The first open indication of Alfonso's intentions, was a somewhat imperative summons to Isabel and Ferdinand to relinquish the crown. To this, having received no more satisfactory answer than an expostulatory letter, he prepared to enforce his demands at the head of an army of five thousand six hundred horse, and fourteen thousand foot.*

At the rumour of the tempest that was gathering in the west, Isabel and Ferdinand sent to propose a compromise to the King of Portugal, offering him as a bride the Infanta, Juana of Aragon, sister of Ferdinand, though the lady was already promised to the King of Naples. They also suggested that if he felt himself bound to see his niece married as became her station, he might bestow her on his own nephew, the Duke of Visco; but this attempt at pacification was futile, Alfonso rejecting any offer short of his demands.

In the beginning of May, the Portuguese sovereign attempted an entrance into Castile through Badajoz, but was compelled to desist from taking that road by the determined opposition of the Count of Féria, who had kept possession of the town which was considered as one of the keys of the realm. The King then repassed the Tagus, and entering through Alburquerque, proceeded to Plasencia, where the Duke and Duchess of Arévalo and the Marquis of Villena awaited him

* Authors differ as to the amount of the force with which Alfonso invaded Castile. Abarca says he had three thousand seven hundred horse and ten thousand foot.

with the Princess Juana, to whom he was solemnly betrothed, and this ceremony was followed by the proclamation of the bride and bridegroom as sovereigns of Castile and Leon. A manifesto was also sent in the name of Juana to the principal cities, and to the grandees of the realm, setting forth her claims, and requiring their allegiance. The Portuguese sovereign had, however, committed a great error in not entering Spain by the way of Andalusia, as in that province many chief cities were in his favour, and Seville was incapable of resisting a siege; while through Carmona, Ezija, and Cordova, he would have been in direct communication with Toledo, which being in a great measure under the influence of his Castilian allies, would have readily embraced his cause. Another error, and one most fatal to the success of his enterprise was the protracted stay he made in Arévalo. Had he, instead of remaining in that town two months inactive, waiting for reinforcements, marched at once upon his rivals, the totally unprepared state of the latter would have ensured an easy victory.

The Archbishop had in the meantime withdrawn from the Court to Alcalá de Henares, his own residence, under the pretext that it was time for him to retire from the busy scenes in which he had so long been an actor; but in reality, prompted by jealousy of the influence possessed by the Cardinal, and displeasure at the non-fulfilment of the promises that had been made to himself. No one, however, was the dupe of the mock humility that affected the life of a hermit; and Ferdinand and Isabel, alarmed at the prospect of

losing so powerful an ally, endeavoured by the most submissive messages to soothe and pacify him. The old King of Aragon sent a confidential agent to bring about a reconciliation; and Isabel herself, seeing her interest at stake, set out in person to visit her former friend at his residence. But the condescension came too late, the prelate feeling himself aggrieved remained inflexible, and bade the messenger* sent by Isabel, to apprise him of her approach, tell her that "if she entered by one gate he would leave by another." Seeing her intended propitiation thus ungraciously rejected, the Queen desisted from any farther attempt; and not content with sending reinforcements to the King of Portugal, this mitred Warwick set out in person to join him at the head of a brilliant troop of five hundred horse, saying, as he mounted his own steed: "I who placed the once poor Infanta Isabel on the throne, will now cause her to exchange the sceptre for the distaff."

Never did Isabel prove herself more competent to fill the station to which she had been exalted than at this momentous crisis. The prudence and promptness of the measures taken by herself and her consort, the dexterity with which they profited by the egregious blunders of their adversary, and the confidence which their conduct infused into the people, enabled them to resist a storm that would have swept less persevering and energetic sovereigns from the throne. The Queen, laying aside all petty jealousy, authorised Ferdinand to

* The Constable Pero Hernandes de Velasco.—Ed.

appoint to military offices, and dividing with him every care, frequently spent the night dictating to her secretaries. At her accession strict justice had been enforced, and several malefactors, convicted of highway robbery and other crimes, had been executed, to the great satisfaction of the commons, who now looked forward to seeing order re-established; but the number of these desperadoes had, during the civil wars, increased to such an extent that it was found necessary to suspend all rigorous measures against them, lest their formidable bands should add strength to the army of the invader.

In order to act with more efficacy, and in different places at once, the consorts separated—Ferdinand hastening to Valladolid, and the Queen to Tordesillas, which she fortified, and thence to Toledo. This capital of the kingdom of Múrcia was divided between the partisans of the Archbishop and those of Isabel, but the presence and energy of the Queen inclined the balance in her favour, and she succeeded in expelling her opponents.

Leaving Toledo on the 28th of May, the indefatigable Isabel proceeded to Segovia to give orders for the issue of coin from the late King's treasury.* The

* The sum found in the treasury of Segovia was ten thousand marks. Andres de Cabrera, to ensure himself in case fortune should turn against Isabel, made it a condition of giving up the treasury, that the only child of the Queen should be left with him as a hostage. But it is also asserted that it was Isabel's wish that her daughter should be left in his care, as being with him in greater safety. The services rendered to Isabel by the Alcayde were far from being disinterested. In imitation of the majority of the nobles of that corrupt

Queen, who was at this period far advanced in her pregnancy, now set out on her return to Tordesillas; but the anxiety she had undergone, the want of rest, and the many fatiguing journeys she had performed on horseback, brought on a miscarriage.

Though at the time of the entrance into Castile of the King of Portugal, Ferdinand could not have collected five thousand horse, he had so diligently employed the two months wasted by Alfonso in Arévalo, that in the beginning of July, he found himself at the head of a force consisting of four thousand men-at-arms,* eight thousand light horse, and thirty thousand foot. Alfonso having at length left Arévalo, had marched on Toro, which gave him immediate admittance—though the fortress, under the command of

and venal period, he sold himself to the highest bidder; and the title and ample domains of the Marquisate of Moya, situated on the confines of Valencia, and near Sigüenza, his native place, was the stipulated guerdon for which this Judas betrayed his faith. Andres de Cabrera had been promoted to his high post by Enrique, and whatsoever were the faults of the weak monarch, he had a right to expect fidelity from the man his bounty had enriched.

In addition to the supply thus afforded, Isabel caused all the royal plate, and costly ornaments of gold and silver, to be converted into coin; after which she collected the contributions of the various towns, of which the most considerable was Medina del Campo, at that period a great resort for foreign and native merchants, who traded largely at the fairs which were held periodically for that purpose, and paid a heavy sum for the privilege of pursuing their calling within its walls.—Ed.

* The men-at-arms were soldiers armed *cap-a-pie*, with long stirrups (*armados de todas armas con estribos largos.*) They were generally Castilians. The *Ginetes*, or Andalusian light cavalry, were armed with a lance and shield, and mounted with short stirrups.

Doña Aldonza del Castillo, the wife of the Alcayde, Don Rodrigo de Ulloa, resisted for a long time.* The town and castle of Zamora also sent to offer him allegiance.

To Ferdinand, the loss of these important places was of the utmost consequence, and to repair it, if possible, he proceeded to Toro. His hastily-collected army, composed of raw, undisciplined recruits, and deficient in artillery, was scarcely fitted to contend with that of his antagonist, in which was the flower of the Portuguese knights, well armed, well disciplined, and bound, moreover, by a singular and fantastic vow of their order, which enjoined each of its members to sustain the attack of any four knights, to attack any three, to capture two, and to kill one. But though Ferdinand, in the heat of his youthful ardour, repeatedly offered battle to the enemy, the Portuguese sovereign would not leave his entrenched position.

In accordance with the fashion of the age, the Castilian Prince sent a personal defiance to his enemy, proposing that they should settle their quarrel by single combat; but as it was found impossible to come to any decision as to the guarantees to be exchanged between the combatants, this romantic mode of arbitration was

* The Governor of the town of Toro was Don Juan de Ulloa, and the Commander of the fortress was his brother Don Rodrigo. A proof of the melancholy divisions occasioned by civil wars is evidenced in these two brothers, one of whom embraced the cause of Juana, and the other, or his wife in his name, held the fortress for Isabel until all hope of succour was rendered vain by the retreat of Ferdinand

abandoned. The surrounding country being in favour of Alfonso, Ferdinand's army was soon straitened for provisions; and as from the want of battering engines he could do no damage to the town, he found himself compelled to retire. Here again the Portuguese sovereign lost the opportunity of taking his rival prisoner. The Biscayans, who formed a large body in Ferdinand's army, being persuaded that he was kept in restraint by his Castilian lords, and compelled by them to this inglorious retreat, rushed tumultuously into the church where Ferdinand was holding his council of war, and carried him off to his own quarters, notwithstanding his attempts at explanation.

The retreat, in consequence of this *fracas*, and of the murmurs of the soldiers who felt themselves dishonoured by it, was accomplished in so disorderly a manner, that had Alfonso, with but two thousand horse, issued from the town and fallen on the Castilians, he would have brought his own quarrel to a speedy issue; moreover, though imperatively dictated by circumstances, it did Ferdinand little honour, and was followed by the loss of the fortress of Toro, which, seeing all prospect of relief from him vanish, surrendered to Alfonso. Though he reinforced the garrisons of the towns in his favour, Ferdinand could not prevent his army from disbanding, the discontented soldiers returning to their mountain homes. The King of Portugal was not, however, much better off than his retreating competitor; for while he remained shut up in Toro, his own unprotected frontiers were laid waste by the southern partisans of Isabel. The Duke of Medi-

naceli, in order to divert the attention of Prince Juan, and prevent his joining his father, made an irruption into Portugal at the head of one thousand five hundred horse, ravaging the borders. He also laid siege to Moron, but suddenly raised it, and with a large booty returned to his domains, in consequence of a message from his Duchess, informing him that Ferdinand had disgraced himself by his retreat, and that his army was disbanded.

Alfonso also found that his Castilian allies were far less eager to join him than he had expected, many, indeed, having enough to do to defend their own domains from the predatory incursions of the lords of the opposite party. The Grand-Master of Calatrava, and the Count of Ureña, cousins of Villena, on whom the King of Portugal most implicitly relied, were prevented from joining him by the warfare carried on against them by the Counts of Paredes and Cabra, who ravaged their domains, and levied their rents from their vassals. These considerations induced Alfonso to lower the arrogance with which he had formerly received the proposals of Isabel and Ferdinand, and to offer the resignation of his claims to the crown of Castile, conditionally on the payment of a large sum of money, and the cession of Galicia, together with the towns of Zamora and Toro. It is said that Ferdinand and his ministers were inclined to accept these terms; but Isabel, though she was willing to give the money, would not consent to cede any portion of the Castilian territory.

In the meanwhile, the urgency for funds was press-

ing, the late King's treasury having been exhausted without any beneficial results; and in an assembly of the states, in Medina, a most unusual expedient was broached, and finally adopted. This was neither more nor less than that one-half of the plate belonging to the churches throughout the kingdom should be given into the royal treasury, to be used for the sole purpose of defraying the expenses of the war; and this loan was to be redeemed in the term of three years with the sum of thirty millions of maravedises. This singular and unprecedented proposal sounded impiously in the ears of the Queen; but the clergy, with admirable disinterestedness, pressed her to accept it, and removed her scruples with arguments drawn from Scripture. It is evident that great trust was placed in the sovereigns—a trust subsequently justified by the care displayed by Isabel in repaying this, to her, sacred debt. The money thus obtained was immediately applied to raising and equipping an army.

In the commencement of the ensuing year of 1476, the important town of Burgos had raised the banner of Isabel and Ferdinand; but its castle, filled with the retainers of the house of Zuñiga, continued to hold out for the King of Portugal. The town, annoyed by the battery of the castle, urgently summoned Ferdinand, who immediately besieging the fortress, its garrison as earnestly called on the Portuguese sovereign to assist them in the defence of his own cause. The pertinacity with which Isabel, with a body of troops, hung on the rear of Alfonso's army, harassing him

continually, and cutting off his supplies, materially contributed to foil all his attempts to introduce troops into the besieged castle; and in the meanwhile, having received intelligence that some of the citizens of Zamora were negotiating with Isabel to give that town up to her, he judged it more expedient to return thither. Zamora was, from its position near his frontiers, of great importance to Alfonso, but he was soon after compelled to depart thence abruptly with his niece bride, its inhabitants having risen against him, and recalled Ferdinand. While her husband was in Zamora, the Queen was summoned from Valladolid to receive the surrender of the strong castle of Burgos before which Ferdinand had left his bastard brother,* and the Constable of Castile.

Notwithstanding some partial successes of the King of Portugal, the war was now in favour of Isabel and Ferdinand. The Castilian lords who had invited the invader into Castile, were heartily weary of a contest which had resulted in such losses to themselves, their own vassals rebelling, and claiming the Queen's protection rather than submit to Portugal. The Marquis of Villena himself saw his hereditary possessions occupied by the royal troops. It does not enter into the limits of this work to describe all the operations of the desultory warfare carried on between the rival claimants of the Castilian crown for the space of four

* Alonso of Aragon, Duke of Villahermosa, bastard son of Juan II., a brave and experienced soldier.

years and a half. To detail all the marches and countermarches, sieges and skirmishes, the submission of each refractory lord, and the reduction of each rebellious town to the obedience of Isabel and Ferdinand, would fill a volume which would scarcely repay the general reader for the perusal. The only battle fought during the whole course of the war was that of Toro, which took place March 1st, 1476, and proved fatal to the invaders.

In this engagement the Cardinal Mendoza, and the Archbishop of Toledo, the clerical champions of the contending claimants, were foremost in the ranks, charging boldly at the head of their troops. The Cardinal, with the crucifix borne before him, led his men into the thickest of the fight, ever and anon shouting: "Onwards, knaves; have ye not a Cardinal with ye!" This was in allusion to a rumour that had spread through the army accusing that prelate, and other influential nobles, of endeavouring to prevent the quarrel of the Kings from coming to the issue of a decisive battle, lest a victory on the side of Ferdinand should render their own services less indispensable. Among the glorious deeds performed that day, one has been deservedly celebrated. The banner of the King of Portugal having become the object of a furious strife, its gallant bearer, Duarte d'Almeyda, after enduring successively the loss of both arms in its defence, still tenacious of his sacred trust, held it between his teeth until cut down by the enemy. The armour of this good knight was long preserved in the

cathedral of Toledo in lieu of the banner torn to shreds in the dispute for its possession.* The field was bravely contested on both sides, the soldiers fighting hand to hand in the *mêlée* with the fury that national prejudice engenders; but its result was a total discomfiture of the army of Alfonso, who himself barely escaped with two or three attendants to Castro Nuño, a fortified castle, a few leagues from the scene of action. Prince Juan, who, previous to the battle, had joined his father with a reinforcement of two thousand lances, and eight thousand infantry, after evincing a courage and generalship worthy his high station, retired under cover of the night to an eminence in the vicinity, where he rallied a portion of his dispersed troops, and in the morning made good his retreat into the town of Toro, which was within five miles of the field of battle, and where he was joined a few days after by his father.

Great were the sufferings endured by the vanquished and fugitive Portuguese. Many, in seeking to escape, were drowned in the river Douro; others were killed or cruelly tortured by the Spanish peasants, in retaliation for some acts of violence committed by the Portuguese at the period of the invasion. Many parties of stragglers, to avoid the merciless vengeance of the irritated peasantry, sought the protection of the Castilian captains, from whom they solicited safe conducts

* This feat brings to mind that of the standard-bearer of the Count Gomez Gonzalez, at the battle of Candespina, (*vide* vol. i. p. 171.)

to their own country, offering to pay a small sum for each man. It was made matter of discussion in the King's council, whether these wretched remnants of the disbanded army should be permitted to reach their homes in safety, or if policy did not demand that they should be put to death when they surrendered. Many, who had lost relatives or friends in the preceding battle, were for death to the vanquished foe, resting their arguments not only on the cruelty practised by the invaders themselves, but also on that of their ancestors, at the period of the defeat of Albajarota. Ferdinand was undecided, until the scale was turned in favour of mercy, by the eloquent pleadings of the Cardinal, who represented the disgrace which the cold-blooded butchery of a vanquished foe would cast on the Castilian name; and a captain of light horse, in the service of the Duke of Alva, was authorized, as a boon for his services, to furnish each man with a safe conduct, and to receive in return whatever he could obtain; while the King generously ordered, that clothes and other necessaries should be given at his expense to those who, in a state of utter destitution, threw themselves on his mercy. Ferdinand also gave proof of much delicacy, when, shortly after, at the surrender of the fortress of Zamora, the personal effects of the Portuguese sovereign having fallen into his hands, he ordered them to be sent to Toro, and restored to the owner.

The Queen having received in Tordesillas the news of the decisive victory won by her husband, celebrated

it by a solemn procession, in which she led the way barefooted to the church of St. Paul in the suburbs, to return thanks to Heaven.

The success that crowned the arms of Ferdinand at the battle of Toro, caused numbers to flock to his standard; and thus he was soon enabled to attend to the repeated summons of his father, and at the head of fifty thousand men to march against the French, who, though twice repulsed by the brave inhabitants, had for the third time invaded Guipuzcoa, and laid siege to the strongly-fortified town of Fuenterabia. At the approach of Ferdinand and his superior force, they again retreated.

Isabel, in the meanwhile, at the head of a body of troops, remained in Tordesillas, whence, from its vicinity to Toro, she could watch the movements of the King of Portugal. But Alfonso soon grew weary of being cooped up in that town, and losing all hope of farther aid from his Castilian allies, who were intent on making the best terms they could for themselves with the conqueror, retired with his virgin bride into Portugal, whence he shortly after set out for France to solicit the aid of Louis XI.

During her residence in Tordesillas, the Queen received tidings that the citizens of Segovia had risen against the Alcalde Cabrera, at that time absent from the town. Alarmed at the movements of the insurgents, who had taken possession of the outworks of the fortress, and besieged the tower inhabited by the Princess Isabel, her only daughter, and still defended tenaciously by some of Cabrera's adherents, the Queen

mounted her horse, and, accompanied by several of her nobles and attendants, hastened to Segovia. As she approached the town, she was met by a deputation of its citizens, with two requests; the first, that she would enter by one of the gates in their possession, and not by that of Saint Juan still held for Cabrera; the other, that she would leave behind her the Marchioness of Moya, and the Count of Benavente; the one as being the wife of Cabrera, and the other his friend and ally. They moreover warned her, that if these two conditions were not complied with, danger might accrue to herself, as the populace, goaded to madness, would probably go so far as to forget the respect due to majesty.

The spirited answer and conduct of Isabel is characteristic of her firm and persevering spirit: "Tell the citizens and gentlemen of Segovia," said she, "that I am Queen of Castile, and lady of this town, inherited from my father; and that, to enter my own domains, no conditions are to be dictated to me. I will enter the town by the gate that shall seem most meet unto me; and with me shall enter the Count of Benavente, and whosoever else it befitteth my service should accompany me. Bid those that sent ye submit, ere it be too late, and cease disturbing the peace of my town, lest they be made to suffer for it in their persons and property."

She then entered the town, and repaired to the alcazar, which she had no sooner entered, than the insurgents flocked thither, vociferously shouting, "Death to Cabrera!" and threatening to attack the fortress. The Cardinal, and other nobles of the Queen's suite, strongly

urged that the gates should be kept closed against the blindly-furious populace; but the Queen, taking counsel only of her own undaunted spirit, bade them remain in the apartment, while she herself, descending to the court-yard, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and the people admitted. At the unlooked-for invitation of "Friends, the Queen bids all enter that desire it," the court was soon thronged by the clamorous Segovians, to whom Isabel, in her usual calm tone and dignified attitude, addressed herself, demanding the cause of the tumult, and asking what were the grievances of which they complained; adding, that whatsoever was for their interests was also for hers.

The presence and demeanour of the Queen had an instantaneous effect in quelling the angry demonstrations of the citizens, and one, in the name of the rest, respectfully replied that it was the wish of the townsmen that Cabrera should be deprived of the government of the fortress. The Queen immediately granted the request, bidding them, moreover, dismiss all the adherents of the obnoxious Alcayde, as she should place the alcazar under the care of one of her own household. This apparent concession delighted the insurgents, who fulfilled the commission uttering loud shouts of "Long live the Queen!" Isabel having left the alcazar to the guard of Gonzalo Chacon, proceeded to the palace, where she again addressed the people, exhorting them to return peacefully to their homes and avocations, and promising that she herself would forthwith examine into their cause for complaint, and give

them full redress. The populace well pleased, retired quietly; and on the following day, the deputies they had named to expose their grievances, were heard by Isabel and her council. Cabrera was accused of unjust exactions, venality, vexatious and despotic treatment of the citizens, and other misdemeanours. A strict inquiry having been instituted, the Alcayde was proved innocent of all the charges brought against him, and, public excitement having by that time subsided, he was peaceably reinstated in his post. Thus did Isabel, by a few timely concessions, and by her dignified and fearless demeanour, pacify a revolt that threatened serious results.

Though peace was not concluded until the year 1478, and several places still held out for Juana and the King of Portugal, Isabel had every reason to consider herself firmly established on the throne, and turned her attention to providing a remedy for the many evils which had their source in the lax administration of justice. The ordinary and established mode of enforcing the laws was found insufficient to restore order, and to punish the infinite number of bandits, who, in defiance of every regularly constituted authority, subsisted at the expense of the quiet burghers and wretched peasantry. A new system was introduced, or rather an improvement of a system that had long existed, but in so imperfect and deficient a state that it was worse than useless. This was the institution of the Santa Hermandad, or Holy Brotherhood. During the middle ages these confederations were common in the towns of Castile, their chief object being political,

and for the maintenance of their charters; but it was now for the first time established under the auspices of the Government, who directed its operations, sanctioned its laws, and finally suppressed it, when the motives which had called it into existence had ceased.

Isabel adopted the new system at the suggestion, and by the advice of Alonso de Quintanilla, Grand Treasurer of the Confederation already in existence, and Juan de Ortega, Provisor of Villafranca de Montesdoca. This rural police was maintained by the people, an annual contribution of eighteen thousand maravadis being levied on every hundred householders, for the equipment and maintenance of a mounted officer, whose duty was the pursuit and arrest of malefactors.

The Holy Brotherhood, in its origin, consisted of four thousand members, two thousand of whom were horsemen. They had their laws and their judges, and by these the culprit was tried, condemned, and sent to execution, without respect of persons, or appeal to any other tribunal. At the head of this institution was the Duke of Villahermosa; captains of different degrees were also appointed, some commanding fifty, some a hundred, and some five hundred men. The crimes of which it took cognizance were five: any violence or assault committed in the open country, or occurring within the precincts of a town, if the perpetrator fled into the country or to another town; burglary, rape, and resistance of justice. It was instituted for three years, at the expiration of which it was prorogued repeatedly until its final extinction.

The punishments of this tribunal were excessively severe. In a singular sermon, preached by the Bishop of Barcelona on the occasion of the death of Queen Isabel, and in which the devil and the guardian angel are introduced, familiarly discussing the events of her late Majesty's reign, Satan numbers, as then existing in Castile, one thousand persons who had been maimed by the decrees of this inflexible tribunal. But the father of lies could not but subvert the truth in some way, as it was of a foot, and not of a hand (as he averred), that the offender was deprived for the crime of robbery, to the amount of from five hundred to five thousand maravedises.

However excessive this severity may appear, it was rendered indispensable by the swarms of bandits who infested the highways. The Holy Brotherhood, while it established and maintained public security, also formed a standing army ever ready to subdue the ambition of individuals. No institution could be better adapted to curb the power, and reduce the prerogatives of the aristocracy, who were as amenable to its power as the commons who maintained it; and it is not to be wondered at, that they should have manifested the utmost reluctance to permit of its introduction in the domains subject to their jurisdiction. The perseverance of the Queen, and especially the example of the Count de Haro, whose influence from his numerous estates was great, did much towards effecting this point; and it soon embraced every town and village of Castile. In 1487, it was also established in Aragon. This armed police was the most

efficient instrument towards the establishment of the new system of government, and contributed materially to consolidate the power of the sovereign hitherto precarious, and at the mercy of an arrogant aristocracy. Its laws, powers, and regulations were increased, diminished, and modified, as experience, or the changes in the times, demanded. The Holy Brotherhood had also its general junta, which was equivalent to an inferior Cortes; its deputies, on more than one occasion, voting large subsidies for the emergencies and undertakings of the Government; but the ends for which this institution had been formed, having been attained, it was considered burdensome to the people. It was not, however, either suddenly or entirely abolished, but, from the year 1498, shorn of its vast powers, and high attributes, it dwindled down to the form in which, with some slight changes, it has existed to the present day merely as a body of gendarmerie.

At the time of his journey into Biscay, Ferdinand had an interview with his father for the purpose of endeavouring to settle the civil feuds of Navarre, which occasioned a warfare seemingly interminable.*

* The account of this interview, as given by some of the old historians, is deeply affecting. Don Juan was an aged man, who had lived to see all his most ambitious projects fail, nor could he forget that he now, for the first time, visited his native country since he had been forcibly deprived of his estates, and compelled to accept as an equivalent a pension, which had been ill and grudgingly paid, although his claim to the sovereignty of Navarre had remained uncontested. Ferdinand and Isabel met him at Vittoria, and, as his dim eyes rested upon his son, the King was forgotten in the father, while throwing

A treaty of peace was also agreed on between France and Castile, Louis obliging himself entirely to abandon the cause of his ancient ally, the King of Portugal.

Alfonso having, after a year's residence in France, discovered that his false host was negotiating a peace with the very sovereigns against whom his assistance was solicited, returned to Portugal in disgust. Here a new blow overtook the luckless monarch, the Pope, Sixtus IV., annulling, on the ground that it had been obtained under false pretences, the dispensation he had lately granted for the marriage of Alfonso and his niece. Stung to madness by this succession of disappointments, the doughty old King determined to persevere in very spite of adverse fortune and made preparations for renewing the contest.

Isabel, in the meanwhile having been summoned from Segovia to receive the submission of the town, and subsequently, of the castle of Toro,* was there

himself upon the neck of Ferdinand, he uttered an exclamation of gratitude, thanking God and the saints for the happiness which was then vouchsafed to him, and praying that, since all earthly joy is but uncertain and transitory, if evil were yet destined to fall upon his race, it might visit himself, and spare his son, and his descendants. Not a vestige of jealousy, not a trace of regret weakened the pious prayer; and as Ferdinand, in his prosperity, knelt to receive the blessing of the feeble old man, who thus magnanimously disregarded his own trials while contemplating the brighter fortunes of his son, the proud heart of Isabel must have beat high as she felt herself to be the architect of his greatness.—Ed.

* By a singular coincidence, the fortress of Toro was twice defended by female commanders, the wives of two brothers. On this occasion it was Doña Maria Sarmiento, widow of Don Juan de Ulloa,

joined by Ferdinand. Having visited together Ocaña, Toledo and Madrid, while in the latter place, the sovereigns received intelligence of the hostile movements of the Portuguese who were ravaging the territories of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo. The Count de Féria was immediately despatched with troops to resist these incursions, and the Queen announced her intention of superintending in person the defence of the frontier, and pacifying the distracted province. It was in vain that the members of the council represented in vivid colours the perils she would encounter in a country subjected not only to the continual inroads of a foreign foe, but to the rapacious tyranny of the rebel chieftains, by whose fortified castles it was literally studded: their strength and power being such that large towns did not disdain to pay them contributions in order to avoid their devastations. To these remonstrances the Queen replied with her usual firmness and spirit, that it was the duty of sovereigns to share the toils and perils of their subjects, and that she could no longer endure patiently the state of affairs in that part of the country. She accordingly set out for Estremadura in the summer of 1477, while the King, on his side, undertook the reduction of the fortresses of Castroñuno, Cubillos, Cantalapiedra, Siete Iglesias, and others.

Having reduced several fortresses, and placed strong

who held the citadel against the troops of Ferdinand and Isabel, as stoutly as her sister-in-law had formerly done in their favour. All hopes of aid failing, the lady obtained honourable terms of capitulation.

garrisons in Badajoz and other frontier towns, Isabel proceeded to Seville, where she was enthusiastically welcomed. Here she established her head-quarters, and announced that she would devote one day in each week to hearing and redressing, in person, all grievances thus reviving the almost obsolete custom of the Spanish sovereigns. Accordingly, every Friday, the Queen took her seat on a chair of state covered with cloth of gold, and placed on a platform at the upper end of the large hall of the alcazar. On each side of the Queen were placed the members of her Privy Council, doctors of the law, prelates, and gentlemen; while in front sat the secretaries who received and read the petitions to her. Beyond these stood the Alcaydes of the Court, the alguaciles and the macers. Every suit was in this way disposed of without any expense to the parties, or the long and tedious delays incidental to the ordinary forms of administering the laws, as those cases which required more mature examination were committed to some member of the Queen's Council whose business it was to obtain the required information within three days. On all other days of the week, except Friday and Sunday, the Queen's ministers gave audience.

So perseveringly and actively were Isabel's intentions carried out, that in the short space of two months, an infinite number of complaints had been heard and decision rendered on them. Restitution was also made of a vast amount of stolen property, and all convicted delinquents were executed without regard to the hitherto successful pleas of rank and

station. Such was the consternation occasioned by these summary proceedings, that upwards of eight thousand persons,* whose consciousness of guilt made them unwilling to stand a trial, fled from Seville. The magistrates and clergy, alarmed at this rapid decrease in the population, waited on the Queen, and represented the evils that would accrue from so great a severity, as, from the long continuance of the civil wars and private feuds which had desolated the province, should too strict an inquiry be instituted, no family could hope to escape unscathed in some of its members. The Queen, convinced of the necessity of tempering justice with lenity, published a general amnesty, which was conditional on the restoration of all illegally acquired property, and from which were excluded all guilty of heresy. The proximity of the dominions of the Kings of Portugal and Granada made this act one of policy as well as generosity, as the fugitives were not unlikely, in self-defence, to join the armies of these hostile sovereigns against Castile.

Another great point was also attained by Isabel during her stay in Seville. This was the extinction of the ancient feud, which, descending from one generation to another, had long divided the powerful houses of Guzman and Ponce de Leon, and frequently deluged in blood the streets of Seville.

While Isabel won the gratitude of the commons by the strict impartiality with which she caused the laws to be enforced, she neglected no opportunity of

* So says Lucio Marineo. Others say only four thousand which would still be a great number.

humbling the pride and diminishing the power of the aristocracy; and seized, with infinite tact, the favourable one presented by the successful issue of her contest with Portugal to deprive of their estates and privileges those nobles who had taken arms for the Princess Juana. The most unbounded encouragement was given to the vassals of the refractory lords to shake off their allegiance to their lieges, and to seek the protection of the Crown; while such of the powerful rebels as chose to submit to the royal authority, were compelled to purchase their pardon at the sacrifice of a considerable portion of their vast possessions. Thus was the Archbishop of Toledo, seeing himself abandoned by his vassals, and obliged to come to terms with Isabel, shorn of his power, and despoiled of all his strongholds, notwithstanding the protection constantly afforded him by the old King of Aragon, who continually interceded in his favour with his son and daughter-in-law. But the memory of the services rendered to her in her worst need could not militate with Isabel to efface the stain of his subsequent dereliction; and, though Ferdinand was disposed to indulgence, she pursued her former friend with unrelenting severity, until scarcely a vestige remained of the colossal power which had, after elevating her to the throne, nearly precipitated her from it. The power thus lost by the high barons went to increase and consolidate that of the Crown; and the commons, gratified at the immediate comfort which accrued to them from the new system, willingly lent their co-operation to sustain it.

Had this inflexible but salutary rigour been exercised only against the perturbators of the public peace, it had been well for Spain, and well for the fame of Isabel. After viewing her in the light of a beneficent spirit, restoring order and tranquillity to the distracted kingdom, sweeping from her territories the miscreants who infested them, securing the lives and possessions of her subjects, remedying the deficiencies of the existing code and correcting the defects in the Legislature, encouraging industry, and liberating commerce from the bondage in which it had long been held; it is painful to reverse the picture, and view, by the red glare of the funeral pyres, the hitherto fair and almost spotless image of Isabel, blackened with the smoke of inquisitorial torches. During the course of this year, the first step was taken for the establishment of the tribunal of the inquisition, by the Queen soliciting a bull for that purpose from Pope Sixtus IV., who dispatched it in November of the same year.

Many motives have been adduced to extenuate the course pursued on this occasion by Isabel. The ancient national historians with the servile complaisance which fear extorted, assert that the alarming increase of heresy rendered this execrable measure necessary; while foreigners endeavour to see in its adoption a political motive; but we must look into the character of Isabel for the solution of the mystery. Wherever her own authority, power, and prerogatives were concerned, we find her displaying the most persevering and undaunted spirit; and had she brought the same firmness to bear against the proposal for the establishment of

this iniquitous court of inquiry, which she manifested in opposing the encroachments on her rights attempted by the Pope, no writer would have needed to excuse her on the ground that she was persuaded into it against her own inclinations. Necessity alone could momentarily bend the strong will of Isabel. It spurned all curb, even that of affection, and trampled ruthlessly on all who dared oppose it.

Such a temper was greatly needed in the sovereign at that epoch, but unfortunately the vast amount of good she did, was by one fell act rendered vain, and the same hand which raised and supported prostrate industry aimed the fatal blow that paralyzed it for centuries. The blame of the introduction of the inquisition is generally imputed to Tomas de Torquemada, a monk of the order of St. Dominique, who had been the confessor of Isabel previous to her marriage. This fanatic, whose soul knew no pity, had, it is said, predicted to Isabel during the life-time of her two brothers, Enrique and Alfonso, that she would one day be Queen of Castile: and on the faith of this prophecy, which he continued to maintain, despite all the vicissitudes through which, previous to her accession, she passed, he exacted of her a promise that, in case of its fulfilment, she would make the extirpation of heresy the chief business of the State.

The intellect of Isabel was strong, her will firm, her judgment accurate; but these excellent points were counterbalanced by her excessive bigotry. Yet we never find her religious scruples interfere with her own interest: and, though she sacrificed unborn gene-

rations to her blind idolatry, even this was made subservient to her love of power. To preserve the prerogatives of the marriage contract that secured to her the right of nominating to all ecclesiastical preferments, and which Sixtus IV., in the year 1483, attempted to infringe, she boldly incurred the risk of displeasing the pontiff, and even defied his power.

Yet the instances of her humility and submission towards her spiritual directors are numerous, and quoted with great complaisance by the Spanish writers, who are extravagant in their praises of her excessive gentleness, piety, and meekness. But with all these feminine qualities she forced on her loving subjects a tribunal, which in the short space of eighteen years destroyed eight thousand eight hundred of them by fire, and tortured and otherwise punished ninety-six thousand five hundred and four. The horrors of the inquisition are too well known to necessitate any description of them here. It was nominally established at the close of this year, but did not commence its operations until two years afterwards; and though the Castilians had lately and frequently risen on the Jews, they strongly opposed the new tribunal which was apparently created for the sole purpose of extirpating the faith that was the object of their execration.

It has been said that Isabel was not to blame for the fanaticism which she exhibited, as this zeal was inherent in the nature of the Spaniards, and had been their greatest incentive to action, enabling them to wrest their country piecemeal from the Moors; and that her error was a consequence of the age of igno-

rance and superstition in which she lived. But the very authors who thus palliate this act, also laud Isabel as being far in advance of her age, while they underrate the age itself, and the Spaniards themselves. True, an ardent devotion had been a great spur to their native valour; and the three principal articles of their religious and moral code—love of God, of their country, and of their sovereign—were so blended and interwoven as to be what the French Republic once denominated herself *une et indivisible;* but time had greatly modified the feelings of hatred with which they formerly regarded those of a different creed. There was then a far greater degree of liberality in religious points than has since existed in Spain, and the intolerance of Isabel herself caused the nation to retrograde.

The Jews and Moors had become by marriage and association of interests so much intermixed with the Spaniards, that it was a matter of no little difficulty to institute the inquiry for which this court was established. Had not the immense wealth of the Israelites, the iniquitous means by which it was so frequently acquired, and their love of display and extravagant ostentation, at a season, too, when scarcity was prevalent among the upper classes, and actual want among the lower, excited the cupidity and resentment of the Spaniards, who were, themselves, too much occupied with their feuds to give their attention to the acquisition of riches, the establishment of the inquisition would have met with still more opposition.

The great riches of the Jews had often given rise to

wholesale murders of the owners by an enraged populace in many countries besides Spain, and probably contributed as much as their creed in the present instance to suggest to the Government a scheme that promised numerous confiscations. The war with Granada was already in contemplation, and funds were wanting; the Queen was excessively bigoted, but also clear-sighted to present advantages, if she at times overlooked future results. To Torquemada, therefore, is not to be imputed the entire blame of the inquisition, although he did all in his power towards its establishment. Whatever horror the cruelty he manifested may inspire, we cannot refuse to him the credit of having been conscientious in the perpetration of his deeds of blood. Bacon says justly that "atheism leaves to man reason, philosophy, natural piety, laws, reputation, and everything that can serve to conduct him to virtue; but superstition destroys all these, and erects itself into a tyranny over the understandings of men;" thus this man, while urging his Queen to a course which was to give the names of both to the execration of posterity, would, had he been called upon for such a proof of his blind, mad zeal, as readily have given himself to the flames as he doomed others to them. With his mistress, it was probably otherwise; and while she acted on religious impulse, she also satisfied the political one, that prompted her to prepare for the execution of the vengeance she meditated on the King of Granada.

While his consort was taking upon her the internal administration of affairs in Seville, Ferdinand was successfully occupied with the reduction of the important

fortresses already named; but the Queen being near her confinement, he left to his brother the siege of the strongly fortified castle of Castro-Nuño, and hastened to Seville. In this city on the 30th of June, 1478, Isabel, after an interval of seven years from the birth of her first child, was delivered of another; which, to the joy of its parents and of the nation, proved to be a boy, and was christened Juan. Great were the rejoicings with which during three days the birth of this male heir was celebrated in Seville among all classes. The 9th day of July having been appointed for the ceremony of its baptism, the Church of Santa Maria la Mayor was hung with satin, and its chapel with brocade. The royal babe was carried to the church in the arms of his nurse, Doña Maria de Guzman, under a canopy of rich brocade, borne by eight members of the town council with their batons of office, and clad in suits of black velvet at the expense of the city.

Don Pedro de Zúñiga, brother-in-law of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, was the bearer of the plate containing the offering—the nobleman held the salver which rested on the head of a diminutive page who walked immediately before him; the offering itself consisting of a gold coin of recent coinage, valued at fifty excelentes* After Don Pedro came two young brothers,

* The excelente, a Castilian coin of the reign of Isabel and Ferdinand, issued in 1475, was that year valued at eight hundred and eighty-three maravedises. Some of these coins were equal in weight and value to several single ones, and that presented at the Prince's christening probably weighed two marks. There were also halves and quarters. The half-excelente was, on one side, stamped with the images of the King and Queen,

sons of Don Alonso de Montemayor and pages of the Queen, bearing a golden vase and a cup of the same metal. The Duchess of Medina Sidonia, the god-mother, was attired in a rich brocaded kirtle embroidered with seed and large pearls, and a tabard of crimson silk lined with damask (this tabard she bestowed, after the ceremony was over, on Alegre, the King's fool), and on her neck she wore a heavy gold chain. She rode on a pillion* behind the Count of Benevente, and was followed by a train of nine maidens of rank, attired each in kirtles and tabards of different coloured silks. All the grandees and gentlemen of the Court followed. The god-fathers were the Pope's Legate, the Venitian Ambassador, the Count of Benevente, and the Constable Don Pedro de Velasco, Count of Haro. The ceremony was performed by Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain and Archbishop of Seville. A number of musicians with their trumpets, clarions, and sackbuts, gladdening the way, accompanied the procession.

On Sunday, the 9th day of August, the Queen, according to custom, went to mass to present the young Prince, and return thanks to Heaven. The

seated and crowned, the former with his sword in his hand; and around the rim was the following inscription :—*Ferdinandus et Elizabeth rex et regina Castillæ Legionis.* The other side bore an eagle, with the Queen's shield under his right wing, and the King's under his left, with the words :—*Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos.*—*Clemencin Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tom. VI. pp. 542—3.

* To place the lady on a pillion behind the gentleman was considered a mark of great respect to her.

King joyously headed the *cortège*, attired in a splendid suit of brocade interwoven with threads of gold, and mounted on a bright silver-grey horse; the housings were of black velvet, garnished with gold. The Queen rode a snow-white palfrey; the saddle was exceedingly rich and heavily gilt. Her dress was a kirtle of rich brocade, embroidered with large pearls and seed pearls. With the Queen was only one lady, the Duchess of Villahermosa. Many regidores, and all the nobles then in Seville, joined the procession. The Constable of Castile walked on the Queen's right, with his hand on her bridle rein, and the Count of Benevente on her left after the same fashion. The Adelantado of the frontier of Andalusia held her right stirrup, and the Lord of Alahejos her left. The nurse, with the royal babe in her arms, was mounted on a mule with a velvet saddle and trappings of scarlet brocade, embroidered with the royal arms. All the lords and gentlemen were on foot. High mass was performed with the usual pomp, after which the Queen offered, for herself and the Prince, two excelentes of the value of fifty excelentes each. The procession then returned in the same order to the royal residence.

On her recovery, the Queen, accompanied by Ferdinand, made a progress through Andalusia, her presence everywhere producing the same beneficial results as in Seville. The local judges had hitherto, either from fear of the nobles or bribed by them, neglected to punish the excesses which were now multiplied to such a degree as to be fast converting this beautiful province into a wilderness; but the activity

of Isabel soon eradicated the evil. To ascertain that the ordinary magistrates performed their duties, extraordinary judges (*corregidores*) were appointed in every town and village to superintend the rigid administration of justice, and to render a strict account of all illegal proceedings that came under their observation.

It was also during this year that the first symptoms of a rupture with the Moors of Granada appeared. At Isabel's accession in 1474, a truce had been signed with Muley Abul Hacen, the King of Granada. This truce, rendered indispensable to the Castilian sovereigns by the difficulties in which the war of the succession then involved them, was scrupulously kept by Muley; but, at its expiration, without any previous announcement of his intentions, he made an unexpected inroad into the Castilian territories, and, having pillaged and burnt the small town of Cieça, carried off a large booty, and eight hundred of its inhabitants as slaves. To the ambassador who demanded the arrears of tribute that Granada was bound by former treaties to pay to Castile, Muley proudly replied that "the kings, his predecessors, who paid tribute to Christians, had been long dead, and that the royal mint of Granada, instead of gold pieces, now only coined the steel heads of lances."

This bold reply excited the resentment of the Castilian sovereigns; but the internal commotions which had so lately convulsed their dominions were not yet sufficiently subdued to admit of their revenging the outrage, and the Moorish King's offer to renew the

truce for another term of three years was accepted. A singular condition of this truce was, that border forays were not to be considered, on either side, as an infringement of the treaty, provided no artillery was used, no royal standard displayed, but only the banners of private individuals, and no place was besieged beyond three days. Such a condition could not but lead to an infraction of the truce, as it was not easy in the midst of this licensed, desultory warfare, to bear in mind continually the limits where it was to cease, and its consequences will be shown in the events which occurred during the following year.

Isabel and Ferdinand were in Trujillo, fortifying their frontiers against the expected aggressions of the King of Portugal, when news was brought to them of the death of the King of Aragon. This celebrated monarch died January 19th, 1479, in the eighty-fourth year of his age; worn out, less by disease than by the toils and continual anxieties that followed him throughout his long career, to the very gates of the tomb. His life was one of continual warfare, not only with foreign foes, but with his children and his subjects. His contest with the refractory Catalans, whose obstinacy could be only equalled by that of their King, lasted ten years; that which he waged with France, for the disputed possession of the provinces of Ampurdan and Roussillon, thirty; and his disputes with his daughter Leonor, Countess of Foix, continued to the last day of his existence. Preserving every faculty of his mind unimpaired, Juan met his last enemy and conqueror, death, with the imperturbable spirit and serene front

he had ever shown to his mortal foes, leaving nothing, either of his spiritual or his temporal concerns, unattended to. Curious particulars are recorded of the last days of his life, and of his funeral obsequies. When the physicians perceived that the strength of the King was fast declining, they endeavoured to restore and sustain it by giving him, in his cordials, "gold and precious stones, of exceeding virtue and sustenance, as well as of great value."

When the monarch exhaled his last breath, his hounds and mastiffs uttered such dismal howlings, that they sounded to the ears of the weeping attendants more like the lamentations of human beings than the plaintive wailings of brutes. Notwithstanding his inflexible temper, Juan was greatly beloved by his subjects. As tokens of sorrow for his death, the royal standards were trailed in the dust, and shields emblazoned with the royal arms were broken. While the body lay in state in the royal palace, previous to its being borne to church, Don Rodrigo de Rebolledo, who had been the companion in arms, the favourite, and a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the deceased monarch, in presence of the corpse and of the assembled people, demanded of the protonotary the royal seals, which being delivered to him, according to the antique custom, he broke, saying three times in a loud voice: "My lord, the King, is dead!" The powerful monarch of Aragon died so poor, that his jewels, including the rich collar of the Garter, were pawned to defray the expenses of his funeral.

The Cortes having assembled in Saragossa, without

waiting for the arrival of the successor to the crown, Ferdinand was exceedingly indignant, and immediately set out for Aragon. During the King's absence, which lasted from June until November, negotiations of peace were commenced between Portugal and Castile. The chief agent, as well as instigator of them, was the Infanta Doña Beatrix of Portugal, sister-in-law of Alfonso, and maternal aunt of Isabel. This lady, whose good sense is highly extolled by the contemporary chroniclers, was at great pains to convince the old King of the folly of his projected war with Castile. Her counsels, backed by the influence of Prince Juan, who was now as opposed to the undertaking as he had once been in favour of it, had some effect on Alfonso, who consented to her acting as mediator. But the terms proposed by Isabel were too humiliating to his pride to be readily accepted, and the interview between the royal ladies did not produce immediate results, although it led to a final adjustment of the peace some months later. The conference between Isabel and her aunt took place in Alcántara, in the month of June. During the eight days that Doña Beatrix remained there, her niece was with her every day; and when the Infanta departed for Portugal, with the terms of Isabel, the latter loaded her and her attendant ladies with rich and elegant gifts.

The Queen having returned to Trujillo, it was deliberated in the council, whether it would not be advisable for her to leave that town and reside in Talavera, or some other place, where she could enjoy the comfort and security of which her present abode was destitute;

leaving the guard of the frontiers and superintendence of the war to her military commanders. The province of Estremadura, from its contiguity to the hostile kingdom of Portugal, had suffered greatly; not only from the inroads of the foreign foe, but from the devastation committed by the lawless troops of the rebel chiefs,* who held the numerous strongholds disseminated on the borders. The majority of the industrious tillers of the soil, having abandoned their pillaged homesteads and wasted fields, and taken refuge in Toledo and other places, the scarcity was daily increasing. Provisions for the royal household and the troops, were brought from Avila, Salamanca, Toro, and the kingdom of Toledo, to Guadaloupe, and thence, under a strong escort to Trujillo.

But the Queen was not easily disheartened by obstacles. She was well aware that it was the policy of Alfonso, to endeavour, by rendering it difficult for her to obtain supplies, to weary her patience, and to cause her to give up in despair the task of guarding the frontier, by this means, facilitating his own entrance into Castile. Nor would she consent to withhold from her soldiers the encouragement which her presence afforded them; and to the remonstrances of her counsellors, she replied, "that it was not for her to hesitate to share in the

* Among these was Doña Beatrix Pacheco, Countess of Medellin, whose high spirit led her to refuse to the last all the terms of submission proposed to her. She was the illegitimate daughter of Don Juan Pacheco, and sister to the Marquis of Villena. Although her brother had submitted to the power of Isabel, Doña Beatrix continued to hold out for the King of Portugal, until that monarch made peace with the Castilian sovereigns.

toils and perils to which her soldiers were exposed; nor would she give such a triumph to her enemies as to allow them to drive her from the position she had taken up; but would maintain herself in it until the war was concluded and peace made."

Having sent for a reinforcement of troops, Isabel caused siege to be laid to the fortresses of Medellin, Merida, and Deleytosa on the same day. Her activity in procuring the necessary provisions for her troops was untiring, and probably contributed no little to convince her adversary of the uselessness of persevering in his attempts, as he finally yielded to the arguments of his son and the Infanta.* The stipulations

* It is probable that the tergiversations of Louis XI. had a greater share in the decision of Alfonso, than the entreaties or reasonings of his relatives. After his defeat at Toro, when he became convinced of his own incapacity to triumph single-handed over his adversaries, he had proceeded in person to France, in order to solicit the assistance of that monarch, a step to which he was induced by the favourable manner in which Louis had received the overtures of his ambassador, during the struggle between himself and Don Juan, for the French provinces in Aragon. His reception had been most cordial, and the crafty Louis spared neither promises nor flatteries; declaring his readiness to second the claims of his guest, immediately that peace was restored between himself and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Thus encouraged, Alfonso took leave of the French monarch, and hastened to the Burgundian Court, where he strenuously endeavoured to accomplish the peace in which his own interests were seriously involved. He was not, however, destined to succeed, Charles frankly disavowing all confidence in the good-faith of Louis, and exerting himself to inspire Alfonso with the same misgivings. The Portuguese monarch, who had so recently listened with avidity to the professions of friendship, made by the French King, could not, however, be induced to suspect his sincerity; nor was it until the death of the Duke, when he hastened to claim the

of the treaty of peace, which was signed in Lisbon, on the 24th of September, of that year (1479), were the

fulfilment of the promises by which he had been beguiled, and discovered that the perfidious Louis was negotiating with Isabel and Ferdinand, that he could be brought to comprehend the hollowness of his anticipated ally. Disgusted and disappointed, Alfonso at once resolved to abandon his hitherto darling project; and in the extremity of his mortification determined upon an immediate pilgrimage to the Holy Land, there to end his days in offices of piety. In accordance with this resolution he lost no time in writing to his son, the Infante Juan, whom he had appointed Regent of the realm during his absence in France; instructing him to assume the royal title upon the receipt of his missive, and assuring him that he would never be divested of the dignity thus prematurely conferred upon him, as he had resolved never again to return to Europe. His letter was, however, scarcely dispatched when the nobles by whom he had been accompanied to the French Court, earnestly besought him to rescind his resolution, representing the evils which would probably accrue to the nation should he persist in his purpose; and whether it were that Alfonso found a crown more difficult to resign in practice than in theory, or whether he suffered himself to believe that his abdication would really prove a national calamity, certain it is that their entreaties, backed by the expostulations of Louis, soon prevailed on him to abandon his project of self-abnegation; and the fact that he had so done was no sooner communicated to the French King than, anxious for the departure of a guest whose presence had ceased to be agreeable to the sovereign by whom he had been duped, Louis volunteered to furnish him with vessels for the conveyance of himself and his suite to his own country.

This unexpected change of purpose was, however, far from proving palatable to the Infante, who during the short period of his Regency, had learned to appreciate the sweets of power; and who had given universal satisfaction by the suavity of his rule, and the talents with which he had pursued a war at once harassing and difficult; thus, when in a moment of success, he received the royal letter authorising him to regard himself as the actual sovereign of Portugal, it was amid unanimous acclamations that he caused himself to be proclaimed

following: Alfonso bound himself to relinquish the title of King of Castile; the armorial bearings of that country which he had quartered on his shield; and the hand of the Princess Juana. To the Princess herself, was left the choice of either taking the veil, or waiting, under the guardianship of the Infanta Beatrix, until the little Prince Juan should attain a suitable age to wed with her. In case the Prince should then

King; and he was altogether unprepared for the intelligence which reached him only a few days subsequently, that Alfonso had returned to Portugal with all the state and bearing of its monarch. The tidings were communicated to him, as he was walking with the Duke of Braganza, and the Archbishop of Lisbon, and for a moment he was stunned by the unwelcome news; but rapidly recovering his self-possession, he turned towards the former, and asked with an emotion, which he strove in vain to disguise: "How shall I receive him?" "As your father and your King," was the prompt and loyal reply of the high-hearted Duke. Don Juan remained for a moment silent; and then stooping down, he collected a handful of pebbles, which he threw slowly and consecutively into the river, beside which they stood; and while he was thus engaged, the prelate whispered to his fellow-noble, "That stone shall not light upon my head." It was evident that the struggle was a sharp and bitter one; but ere long the Prince conquered himself sufficiently to follow the advice so abruptly given—the monarch of a week deposed his crown—and Alfonso was again King of Portugal. It is evident, however, from after-events, that Juan never entirely forgave the unpalatable counsel, for thenceforward he became the enemy of the Duke, and pursued him to his ruin; while the Archbishop, who had been a tacit partner in the affront, prudently transferred his residence to Rome, and thus escaped the vengeance of the disappointed Prince.

Some apology may appear to be necessary for this very lengthy note; nor would it have been intruded upon the reader, had not an explanation of the actual position of affairs at the Portuguese Court appeared to ourselves indispensable to the proper understanding of much that follows in the body of the work.—Ed.

express disinclination for the alliance, he was to be allowed to purchase his release with the sum of one hundred thousand doblas, to be paid to Juana as a dower. Six months were allowed to the Princess to decide; but, in case she would accept neither of these conditions, she was to leave the domains of the King of Portugal for ever; that sovereign binding himself to afford her no assistance whatever. The Prince Alfonso, son of Juan, the Crown Prince of Portugal, was to marry the little Castilian Infanta, Isabel. An amnesty was also granted to all the Castilian lords who had favoured the cause of Juana and the Portuguese sovereign.*

The hapless Princess Juana seeing her interests sacrificed, and her cause abandoned by her relatives and allies; and, probably, little charmed with the prospect of waiting for a babe scarcely more than a year old, who would subsequently have it in his power to mortify her by an insulting refusal, chose the alternative of taking the veil. In the course of the following year, in the presence of the Castilian ambassadors who had been sent to witness the act, she pronounced her vows in the convent of St. Clara, in Coimbra.

Having brought the long war of the succession to

* Humiliating as all these concessions must undoubtedly have been to the pride of the Portuguese monarch, no other alternative was left to him; the Infante and the people being alike weary of a war, which could be productive of no good consequences to themselves; while Alfonso, on his side, had lost all interest in a struggle of which the result could avail him nothing, the Pope having formally revoked the dispensation previously granted for his marriage with his niece, in vindication of whose rights he affirmed to have taken up arms.—Ed.

so fortunate a conclusion, Isabel proceeded to Toledo, where she was soon joined by Ferdinand, who ratified the peace his consort had adjusted. In this city, on the 6th of November, of the same year, was born the third child of the sovereigns, the Princess Juana.

It was during this residence of the Queen in Toledo, that the greatest blow was given to the power of the aristocracy. The exchequer was so greatly impoverished by the extravagant grants of Enrique, that the royal revenues were not adequate to meet the expenses of the royal household, and those necessary to put into execution the new legislative enactments. A Cortes was held in Toledo, in which the Commons proposed the resumption of the injudicious grants of the preceding reign, and, the measure having been carried, it produced a considerable increase of funds.

The policy pursued by the sovereigns is apparent in the dexterity with which the third estate was brought forward to counterbalance the influence of the Barons. On this occasion the high lords were not summoned* until the measure had been adopted; but, although it affected their interests in so great a degree, the necessity for its enforcement was so obvious that they allowed themselves to be despoiled without a murmur. To Fernando de Talavera, the Queen's confessor, a man noted for his strict probity, was intrusted the examination of all the unconstitutional grants by which the late King had alienated the patrimony of the Crown. The holders of bonds, annuities, &c., were

* The sovereign was not obliged to summon the lords, but they were free to attend if they chose.

summoned to prove the services for which they had been granted; and such grants as were deemed injudicious or excessive, were either retrenched or resumed altogether, as occasion justified.

Measures were also taken during this year, for the re-establishment of order and justice in the province of Galicia, which, for years, had been the theatre of anarchy. Rapine had, from protracted impunity, become licensed; the villages and petty towns having learned to submit to the exactions of the military tyrants, who, from their fortified eyries, descended like birds of prey on the hapless district that refused to pay them the black mail which they levied. The Count of Buendia, accompanied by a doctor of the laws, and a body of troops, was sent to put a stop to these abuses; and the towns of Galicia were summoned to send their deputies to confer with the new Governor; but so rooted had become the evil, that, despairing of success, they at first hesitated to give their co-operation to the active measures proposed for its extirpation.

The new system adopted was so effectual that upwards of fifteen hundred homicides and highway robbers took to flight and left the province, to escape the consequences of the battues made by the Holy Brotherhood. Among other excellent measures, that of demolishing the fortresses from which this plague spread over the surrounding country, was one of the most efficacious. Forty-six of these were razed to the ground; and in the course of a year and a half, so great was the change produced, that the inhabi-

tants felt as though they had been rescued from thraldom. Some of the noble bandits, convicted and sentenced for the manifold depredations they had committed, vainly attempted to purchase the remission of the punishments they had incurred.

An instance of the strict disinterestedness of the Queen in her administration of justice, occurred in the year 1480, during her residence in Medina. A wealthy gentleman of that town, Don Alvar Yañez de Lugo, had, by means of a forged deed, obtained possession of a considerable estate; and, to ensure secrecy, murdered and buried within his own premises the notary who had drawn up the document. Though the crime had had no witness save a devoted attendant, the widow of the notary suspected its perpetrator, and carried her plaint to the Queen. The matter having been investigated, the body was discovered, and the homicide confessed the crime, but offered to ransom his forfeit life with the sum of forty thousand doblas, as an offering towards defraying the expenses of the projected war with the Moors. Some of the members of the council were of opinion that the proposal should be accepted, as the destination of the sum was of so holy a nature; but the Queen firmly refused, and justice was allowed to take its course. Though the property of the criminal was, by law, subject to confiscation, the Queen, to prove that she had not acted from interested motives, ordered that it should be left to his family.

Any disrespect shown to her own authority, was visited with condign punishment by Isabel. The

following instance of her spirited resentment of a slight, proves also that all causes were not treated with equal celerity or impartiality. Two young nobles, Don Fadrique Enriquez* and Don Ramiro Nuñez, Lord of Toral, while in the royal apartments one evening, exchanged high words. The dispute, as is frequently the case, originated in a mere trifle. The Lord of Toral being engaged in conversation with the beautiful Doña Maria Manuel, one of the Queen's ladies, whose knight he professed himself, was desired by Don Fadrique to make way for him to pass towards another lady, Doña Maria Zapata. The Lord of Toral having complied, thought to resume the interrupted conversation in the position† he had momentarily relinquished: but his intention was frustrated by Don Fadrique, who, instead of passing onwards, kneeling between the knight and his lady, addressed himself to her. The insulted noble, from respect to the Queen's presence, dissembled his resentment; but Don Fadrique, who, it appears, had acted thus to gratify a friend of his, who, being also a lover of Doña Maria Manuel, was jealous of Don Ramiro, now seeing the apparent calmness of the latter, added the most insulting taunts to the first insult.

The patience of Don Ramiro was not proof against this aggravation, and he retorted with an angry defiance.

* Don Fadrique was the eldest son of Ferdinand's uncle, the Admiral of Castile.

† The lords, when conversing with a lady, are described as kneeling on one knee; probably this was out of respect for the Queen's presence.

Isabel, informed of the occurrence, ordered both Lords to remain under arrest until she should have investigated the matter. But on the following day, being apprised that Don Fadrique was out as usual, she ordered that Don Ramiro should also be set at liberty, and gave him a safe-conduct, as being the weaker of the two, to secure him against any attack of his more powerful adversary. The hot-blooded Don Fadrique, regardless that his enemy was under his sovereign's protection, caused him to be attacked and beaten on the public square, by three men in masks.

The outrage had no sooner reached the Queen's ears, than disregarding the rain which was falling in torrents, she immediately took horse, without waiting for an escort, and hastened to Simancas, the residence of the Admiral. Although the captains of her guard, on hearing that the Queen had started alone, mounted and followed her immediately, they did not overtake her till she had reached the fortress. Of the Admiral, who came to receive her at the gates, she demanded the person of his son; and on his assertion that he was not there, and that he knew not where he was, she demanded possession of the castle. Her request being complied with, the Queen caused a thorough search to be made for the culprit; and as he could not be found, she retained the castle in her own power, and exacted also the surrender of Rio Seco, another fortress belonging to the Admiral. This done, she returned to Medina, but fatigue and baffled anger produced an indisposition that caused her to keep her bed the next day. When questioned of her ailing, she replied: "This

body is sore with the blows given by Don Fadrique to my safe-conduct."

The Admiral,* alarmed at a displeasure which fell on all his family, thought it best to pacify the Queen by submission to her will; and, accordingly, a few days afterwards the Count of Haro, the culprit's uncle, brought him to the royal residence, and endeavoured at the same time that he resigned him to her justice, to mitigate the Queen's resentment, by representing the extreme youth of his nephew, who had not yet reached his twentieth year. The indignation of the Queen at the insult which had been offered to herself, was too violent to allow the offender to go unpunished; and Don Fadrique, although her husband's cousin, was imprisoned, and detained for some time in solitary confinement, debarred from all communication with his family, in the fortress of Arévalo, whence he was subsequently banished to Sicily for several years.† The young Lord of Toral, not satisfied with the justice done him by the Queen, having also attempted to revenge his own cause on the person of the Admiral himself, though his intention was foiled by the Admiral's attendants, was severely punished, being despoiled of all his estates in

* This Admiral was Don Alonso Enrique, brother of King Ferdinand's mother, and of the Admiral Don Fadrique, who had been so serviceable a friend to Isabel before her accession. Don Fadrique ended his long career at the close of the year 1473.

† The reside ce of Don Fadrique in Sicily, though termed an exile by Pulgar, could not be so called, as he was sent there for the express purpose of marrying the young Countess of Modica, so rich an heiress, that her hand had been solicited by royalty itself, in the person of the late octogenarian monarch, Don Juan II.

Castile, and compelled to flee into Portugal, where he remained eight years before his case was decided, and his estates restored to him.*

Desirous that her son should be sworn heir of Aragon, in 1481 Isabel joined her husband in Calatayud, leaving the Constable Count of Haro, and the Admiral, Regents in Castile during her absence. The young Prince was sworn on the 20th of March, with the usual ceremonies. Young Juan was the first Prince declared heir to the two kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, but the anticipation of one day inheriting them, was all that he was ever destined to enjoy, his premature death blasting the fair hopes of its realization.

We are now arrived at one of the most important epochs of the eventful reign of Isabel—the war with Granada; a war which, ending in the expulsion from Spain of its former conquerors, added a kingdom to the sway of the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon. Religious zeal alone did not prompt the enterprise. It had ever been the wise policy of the Spanish sovereigns to keep their subjects engaged in warfare with their Mahometan neighbours. The martial inclination and restless spirit of their too-powerful Barons, found employment in a contest that filled their coffers, and added new titles and honours to their names, while it extended the boundaries of the sovereign's territory. This vast design had been long cherished by Isabel, and no moment could be more propitious than the

* This story is told in all its minute details by Garibay, who places the scene of its occurrence in Valladolid. So also does Pulgar; but Galindez says that it took place in Medina del Campo.

present, when, delivered from all fears of the foe who had so long rendered her tenure of the throne precarious, it was necessary to find a vent for the superabundance of activity that had hitherto been nourished by civil dissensions.

Ferdinand, moved by the natural desire of liberating that portion of his own inheritance, which for so many years had been the bone of contention between his father and Louis, would have preferred to employ the Castilian forces against the French who devastated the provinces of Roussillon and Ampurdan. He objected, and not without some reason, that the revenues which might furnish the means of undertaking a border foray on an extensive scale, were yet wholly inadequate to an enterprise of the magnitude contemplated by his consort. But his arguments were over-ruled by the Queen, who was bent on attaching to her name the glory of a conquest, before which those of her valiant forefathers would dwindle into comparative insignificance. She knew, moreover, that while the struggle against the French encroachments on the Aragonese dominions would be viewed with indifference, and opposed with lukewarmness by the Castilians, the war with Granada would prove universally popular with all classes.

While Isabel and her ministers were devising means for the execution of her great scheme, the commencement of hostilities was unexpectedly hastened by an aggression on the part of the King of Granada, which the terms of the truce itself rendered almost inevitable. On the night of the 26th of December, 1481, the ill-

guarded castle of Zahara was scaled and taken possession of by Muley Abul Hassan, at the head of a strong body of troops. The garrison and population of the town, amounting to sixty thousand persons, were put to the sword, or carried off into slavery. The Moorish sovereign was summoned to restore his conquest, and make good the damages. His answer may be readily divined. He had infringed no terms of the truce.

The vexation of the Castilian sovereigns at this loss, was shared by the nation. Ferdinand especially was now deeply grieved, for Zahara had been conquered from the Moors by his grandfather; and its loss, in his own reign, was a stain on his honour which he felt bound to efface. The preparations for the war were consequently pursued with extraordinary activity, while those for defence were no less carefully attended to. The vigilance of the adelantados of the frontiers was redoubled on every point where the Moors might be expected to fall, while adalides were sent out in every direction, to ascertain and report the weak points of the enemy's frontiers.

These measures were so successful that in February of the same year, the Marquis of Cadiz, and the Assistente of Seville, at the head of seven thousand men, retaliated the loss of Zahara by the conquest of the strongly-fortified castle and wealthy town of Alhama, almost in the heart of the enemy's territory, and situated within eight leagues of his capital.* Muley,

* The capture of Alhama forms one of the most startling pages of Spanish history. The Christians surprised the gates in the night, but although the gallant inhabitants were aroused from their sleep, and

informed of the surprise of the castle, and siege of the town, arrived in sight of the ramparts within a few hours after its surrender, and vainly endeavoured to regain possession of it. Ferdinand having received advice of the brilliant *coup de main* of the Marquis, and of the dangerous situation of that noble, surrounded by enemies on a hostile territory, hastened to his aid, but found that he had been anticipated by the Duke of Medina Sidonia,* who, laying aside all resent-

thus taken at a fearful disadvantage, every house soon became a fortress, and those who disdained thus to shelter themselves from the enemy, fought their way from street to street until the evening of the ensuing day, with such vigour and desperation, that for a time the victory seemed doubtful. At twilight, however, a reinforcement of Spanish troops entered the town, and soon converted it into one vast shambles. Neither sex nor age was spared; and even the women and children who had taken refuge in the great mosque perished by the sword. There was scarcely a family throughout Granada which was not bereaved of some relative or connection. The celebrated ballad, *Ay de Mi, Alhama*, was written on this occasion; and such was its effect upon the Moors, that they were forbidden, on pain of death, to sing it within the walls of the capital.—Ed.

* An inveterate feud had long divided the noble houses of Guzman, of which Enrique, Duke of Medina Sidonia, was the head, and that of Ponce de Leon, of which Don Rodrigo, Marquis of Cadiz, was the representative. Although, during her stay in Seville, Isabel had obtained a cessation of hostilities, the reconciliation was hollow; and they would soon have been renewed, had not the accidents of the war brought to light the magnanimity of the Duke, and converted the former hatred into a sincere and enduring friendship. While the Marquis was engaged in his expedition to Alhama, the Marchioness was besieged by six hundred Moors in her own castle of Arcos, and would probably have been made to pay the penalty of her husband's bold undertaking, had not his generous foe, learning her danger, hastened to her aid, and forced the Moors to raise the siege. When the

ment, had assembled his numerous vassals, forming, with those of his allies and kindred, a body of five thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, and by rapid marches through difficult mountain passes, had brought his powerful aid to his former foe. The subsequent arrival of Ferdinand, with troops far outnumbering his own, forced the Moorish sovereign to retreat to Granada, where he immediately set about collecting an army sufficiently strong to achieve the object he was temporarily forced to abandon.

The Queen, whom Ferdinand had left in Medina, while she rejoiced in the important acquisition that had been made, neglected no measures which could ensure its preservation. She immediately wrote to many powerful lords, informing them of the conquest of Alhama, and urging them to join the sovereign, who was even then on his way to relieve the besieged victors. To all who held grants of crown lands, she also wrote that they should hold themselves in readiness to join the expedition she projected against Granada. From Medina, after providing for the proper administration of civil affairs during her meditated

Marquis had taken possession of Alhama, and was in imminent danger of being besieged by the King of Granada, and reduced by famine, he dispatched circulars to all the nobles of Andalusia and Estramadura, omitting only his sworn foe the Duke, calling them to his assistance. But Don Enrique, forgetting in the peril of his enemy all former animosity, was the first to collect a strong force, and hasten to his rescue. The Moors retreating on the approach of the Christian forces, the Marquis sallied forth to receive his deliverers. The meeting between the now-reconciled foes is prettily described by the old chroniclers.

absence, she proceeded to Toledo, and thence, as though, notwithstanding her delicate situation, she was insensible to fatigue, she set out for Cordova, where she found the King, who had returned from Alhama. Here, however, they were soon startled by the intelligence that the Moorish sovereign was again before Alhama.

It was now seriously debated in the council whether it would not be more advisable to dismantle and evacuate this town, than to persevere in maintaining it at the immense cost which it was calculated would be necessary for that purpose. It was suggested that, to sustain a garrison in the heart of a hostile country, it would be requisite to send five thousand mule loads of provisions, escorted by an adequate number of men, several times in the course of the year; and that the difficulties of keeping this conquest had led to its being abandoned in former times by Ferdinand I., the ancestor of the present monarch, who had won it from the Moors. It was by many thought more advisable to undertake the siege of Lója, which, when taken, would prove a strong position from whence Alhama could be easily reached and maintained. But the Queen asserted her determination that this, the first conquest of the Christian arms, should be retained at all hazards. Her firmness having, as usual, overruled every objection, the King departed with troops in sufficient number to resist the attack of the King of Granada, and compel him to raise the siege. He also took with him an ample supply of provisions for the garrison.

Muley Hassan was again compelled to strike his camp and retreat to Granada, where his presence was also rendered necessary by Court intrigues, and Ferdinand was enabled, without obstacle, to enter Alhama. Having caused the three principal mosques to be purified with the usual ceremonies, and consecrated to the service of the Christian religion, he proceeded to make a tala* in the plain of Granada, and then returned to Cordova.

The Queen had, in the meanwhile, been engaged in the preparations for the intended siege of Lója, and had sent orders to the different cities of Andalusia and Estramadura, to the domains of the orders of Santiago, Calatrava and Alcantara, to the kingdom of Toledo, and even as far as to the cities of Salamanca, Toro, and Valladolid to send each, at a stated time,† a certain number of soldiers, with a proportionate amount of artillery, and a certain quantity of forage and provisions, to meet the King before Lója. A fleet was also got in readiness, under the command of two trust-

* These talas, or foraging expeditions, constituted the usual species of warfare between the Moors and Christians, which was certainly the most pitiless that could be practised. It consisted in the most complete devastation of the enemy's territory, and fell with especial heaviness on the agricultural class. Every house was burnt to the ground, the vines were uprooted, the fruit-trees cut down, the harvest completely destroyed. It can scarcely be conceived that Ferdinand should have thus ravaged and impoverished a territory which he hoped one day to call his own, but probably it was a measure of policy deemed indispensable for the reduction of his antagonist's resources.

† One half of the supplies was to be before Loja in the middle of June, and the remainder on the 1st of July.

worthy Admirals, to cruise in the Mediterranean, and prevent the Moors of Africa from bringing aid to those of Granada.

On the eve of the King's departure for Lója, Isabel was delivered of twins, one of whom was the Infanta Maria, and the other a still-born child; a circumstance which was regarded as the sign of a disastrous issue to the projected campaign. The multitude, ever ready to see omens in every petty and fortuitous incident, remarked with dismay the sad countenances of the bearers of the standards that were carried with due solemnity to be blessed in the cathedral, ere the expedition departed for its destination. A more certain, as well as natural, augury might have been drawn from the precipitancy with which the siege of so important a place was undertaken. The expected supplies, owing to the distance from which they were to be sent, were tardy in their arrival; and the small number of troops, consisting chiefly of raw Andalusian recruits, might well have suggested misgivings of the unfortunate fate that attended this enterprise. The city, strongly fortified by nature as well as art, was, moreover, powerfully garrisoned, and commanded by Ali Atar, one of the bravest and most experienced of the Moorish chieftains. A sortie of the besieged, supported by a troop of the skilful Arab cavalry, who fell on the King's rear, had well nigh entirely destroyed the army of Ferdinand; and on the second day of the action, July 4th, he was compelled to effect a precipitate retreat, after sustaining a great loss in men, as well as that of almost all his baggage and artillery.

That the feelings of Isabel, at this unforeseen and disastrous termination of an undertaking she had so much at heart, were those of deep mortification, can hardly be doubted ; but no word or action gave token of her vexation, and with undamped ardour she set about averting its consequences, and preparing on a larger scale the means of effacing the shame of this defeat.

Amid the din of arms, and the rapid succession of events that were changing the face of Castile, one of the most stirring of her master-spirits was sinking into the grave, unregretted, almost unheeded. On the 1st of July, died Don Alfonso Carillo, Archbishop of Toledo. Possessed of learning which would have sufficed to raise an obscure man to rank and station, second to none of the nobles, his contemporaries, as a statesman and a commander, he had been the first among them in power and influence. Primate of Spain, and Grand Chancellor of Castile, he was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in Christendom ; while the sway which he possessed over fifteen large towns and many smaller places in Castile, made him inferior to the sovereign in title alone. Nature had endowed him with a heart to which fear was a stranger; and though circumstances had clothed him in the garb of a priest, nothing could alter the inclination which led him to be ever the foremost in the van of battle.

Great faults were mingled in this remarkable man, with great qualities. Too passionate, when his pride was touched, to listen to reason, he frequently committed errors, of which, when convinced, he scorned to

repent. His munificence to those who served him was unbounded; but, in return for the costly sacrifices he unhesitatingly made to his friends, he exacted the utmost deference to his opinions, and was as bitter in his enmity, if once offended, as he was devoted in his friendship. His moral character, in the age in which he lived, elicited but little censure, though in the present, it would be deemed in a prelate unpardonably scandalous. At his final departure from the Court of Isabel, the Archbishop had vindicated his change of politics by charging the Queen with having endeavoured to compass his death.

Nothing ever proved this odious imputation to have been founded on any better ground than the jealous suspicions of the offended churchman, who lent too willing an ear to the suggestions of those who found their interest in embroiling him with the Court. Too high-spirited to fawn on the power he had created, the Archbishop deemed himself entitled to the docile and patient attention of her whom he had guided through the perilous quicksands which had beset her path; and to his mortification and surprise, found his influence counteracted by that of her new ally, the Cardinal. As her grasp of the sceptre became strengthened by the firm support of other adherents, Isabel had shown herself less tractable to the stringent curb of her haughty friend's will, and her offended pride, changing to mortal hatred, the Archbishop was finally crushed and subdued by his vindictive pupil. Although his revenues amounted to upwards of eighty thousand

ducats, they were so entirely absorbed by the unfortunate mania for alchemy, which possessed him during the latter portion of his life, that he died poor and in debt.

In the meanwhile, the kingdom of Granada divided against itself was the scene of a series of revolutions, each of which was, for the Christians, equivalent to a victory. Although greatly circumscribed in its limits, when compared to its former extent, the kingdom of Granada still covered an extent of eleven hundred square miles. Its chief fortresses were Setenil, Ronda, Alora, Lója, Illora, Moclin, Cambil, and Baza. Besides these, a number of smaller fortresses studded the country, while every farm-house was constructed for the purpose of defence; and, although the majority of these rude fortifications could oppose no permanent obstacle to the march of a hostile army, they were calculated greatly to retard its progress. The Moors of Granada, bred to arms from their infancy, were excellent soldiers in border forays, skirmishes, and all rencontres in which personal prowess and dexterity were exerted in hand-to-hand contests; but in pitched battles and lengthened engagements they were inferior to the Castilians. The dense, concentrated population of Granada, however, the obstacles presented by the peculiar nature of its territory, and above all, the impoverished state of Castile, depopulated and devasted by the long civil wars, rendered highly difficult, and almost impossible the conquest of this last rich remnant of the Mahometan empire in Spain; and it

is probable, that the glory attached to its accomplishment would have been reserved for some of Isabel's descendants, had not imprudent divisions between the Moors themselves accelerated the downfall of the Crescent, and crowned with success an undertaking which, had it failed, would have been branded as insane.

Muley Aboul Hassan had for some time past been a prey to domestic anxiety. The partiality of the aged monarch for a Christian captive had engendered in the harem jealous disputes that, daily increasing in acrimony, finally overturned the throne, and ruined the nation. The favourite, whose Christian name was Isabel de Solis, and who was a daughter of Sancho Ximenes de Solis, Alcayde of Bedmar and Maztos, had, at the King's suggestion, adopted the faith of Islam, and is known in the Moorish annals under the name of Fatima, given to her by the King, as well as by the more poetical one of Zoraya, the Morning Star. This fair renegade, taking advantage of her lord's blind partiality, endeavoured to secure the inheritance of the throne to the son she had borne him, to the prejudice of Boabdil, the son of the Sultana Aïscha, a Princess of the blood royal, who was not of a temper to witness tamely this infringement on her rights.

The intrigues of these two contenders for supremacy, although they convulsed the interior of the royal residence, had as yet not passed its gates, when the war breaking out with Castile, liberating them at intervals from the restraint of the King's presence, afforded them scope for development. On his return from the

first siege of Alhama, Hassan found that the Sultana Aïscha had brought to maturity a scheme for dethroning him, and placing her son in his stead. His prompt return having defeated her intentions, she was with her son, thrown into prison, whence, however, she soon found means to manage her own escape, and that of Boabdil. The veils of her women were the ostensible tools, which had enabled the Sultana and her son to reach the ground from a casement of the royal fortress in which they were confined, but it is probable that her bribes and fair promises to her jailors opened an easier egress to her.

Aïscha, taking refuge among her adherents, soon kindled a civil war, that deluged in blood the streets of Granada, and ended in the expulsion of the old King, who retired to Malaga, where he was received with open arms by his brother-in-law, Mohammed, surnamed El Zagal, the Valiant. Amid their mad quarrels, the Moors retained sufficient judgment as yet to refrain from permitting the intervention of the Spanish sovereigns, who would gladly have lent their aid to either party, in order to accelerate the ruin of both; and the remainder of the campaign was spent in efforts on the part of the Moors to regain possession of Alhama, and on that of the Christians in the indispensable precautions for its maintenance and defence.

Isabel and Ferdinand, forced for the present to desist from any undertaking of consequence in the Moorish dominions, removed in October to Madrid, where affairs of moment engaged their attention for

some time. The Queen, whose heart was set on the conquest of Granada, took the most efficacious measures to obtain funds for the prosecution of the war. The Deputies of the Santa Hermandad, in a General Assembly convened at Madrid, in the beginning of the year 1483, responded to her wishes with the liberal grant of eight thousand men, and sixteen thousand beasts of burden. The Pope, solicited to give his aid to this holy war, conceded a grant of one hundred thousand ducats, out of his ecclesiastical revenues in Castile and Aragon, and published a crusade against the Moors of Spain, granting numerous indulgences, not only to those who served in person, but also to those who contributed pecuniarily to the war. Considerable loans were also obtained from wealthy private individuals.

Isabel was, by these and other means, enabled to make preparations on a far more extensive scale than hitherto. Especial care was taken, that all communication between the coast of Africa and the kingdom of Granada should be intercepted; while a division of the army, amounting to no less than thirty thousand men, was appointed to the business of the tala alone, that every resource of the enemy might be cut off. This last measure, though cruel, was one of the most efficacious in a country so thickly peopled as Granada, and dependent, moreover, on its own produce for necessaries. Though orders were given for the manufacture of powder in Spain, large quantities were also imported from Sicily, Portugal and Flanders. Cannons were ordered to be constructed in Huesca, and stone balls,

such as were then used, in Constantine. To officers of artillery from France, Italy, and Germany, great encouragement was offered to take service in Castile; while the chief command of that corps was given to a brave and able native of Madrid, Don Francisco Ramirez. The transportation of the heavy artillery, and complicated battering engines, required two thousand waggons; these were drawn by oxen; every hundred waggons constituted a division, and was under the charge of an officer.

The bull of crusade, published by Pope Sixtus IV., brought numerous foreigners to Castile, and among them, many of distinction, with their followers, all eager to serve under the banners of Isabel against the infidels. It is in this year (1483) that we find the first mention of Swiss mercenaries being employed in Castile. A numerous corps of these soldiers attached to Ferdinand's army is mentioned by Pulgar in terms of high eulogium.

A country traversed by mountains like Granada, presented obstacles apparently insurmountable to the passage of the enormous and cumbrous train of artillery, and numerous corps of pioneers were formed to obviate this difficulty. We may judge of the labour that was required for the construction of causeways, when hills had to be levelled and the valleys between them filled up with rocks and trees, from the fact related by Pulgar, who was an eye-witness of it, that in the year 1486, a body of six thousand pioneers spent twelve days opening a road three leagues in length, for the passage of the artillery needed in the sieges of

Cambil and Harraval. This department was under the especial charge of the Queen, and she spared no exertion or expense in order to perfect it.

In the midst of these cares, foreign politics occupied no small share of the attention of the Castilian sovereigns. Although the Princess Juana had taken the vows as a nun of the order of St. Clair, she did not lead the ascetic life to which they bound her, her cousin, the new King of Portugal* having withdrawn her from the cloister, and established her in a residence at Court with such a state as befitted her birth. This was done to annoy the Castilian sovereigns, against whom Juan had always entertained the most inveterate animosity. To raise up competitors to the crown of Castile, Juan more than once endeavoured to bring about a marriage between Juana and different foreign princes, offering them his aid in support of her claims; and on the present occasion he was, in conjunction with Louis XI., zealously employed in endeavouring to effect an alliance for her with Francis Phœbus, the young King of Navarre.†

* Juan II., who succeeded his father August 28th, 1481.

† On the death of Juan II. of Aragon, the kingdom of Navarre devolved to his daughter Leonor, Countess of Foix. The untimely deaths of Prince Charles and his sister Blanche appeared to have entailed a curse on the inheritance and the heirs. Gaston de Foix, the eldest son of Leonor, was accidentally killed on the 23rd of November, 1470, in a tournament given in honour of the betrothals of the Duke of Guienne. Leonor herself survived her accession but three weeks, and on her death, the heir of Navarre being a minor, eleven years of age, the little kingdom continued a prey to the

To counteract these manœuvres, Ferdinand and Isabel were negotiating with Magdalene, the Queen-mother of Navarre, her son's marriage with their own infant daughter, the Infanta Juana, when the premature death of Francis Phœbus prevented the accomplishment of either scheme. The crown devolving on the Princess Catherine, sister to the late King, the Castilian sovereigns endeavoured to secure her hand for their infant son Juan. This alliance, which would have brought the three kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, under one government somewhat earlier than they eventually were, was defeated by the influence of France; and the Queen-mother, objecting the disproportion of ages between the infant Prince and her marriageable daughter, the latter married the Lord of Albret. Pending these negotiations, the Castilian arms met with a check that filled the whole nation with consternation. Four of the principal southern lords, Don Pedro Enriquez, Adelantado of Andalusia, Don Juan de Silva Count of Cifuentes, Don Alonso de Aguilas, and the Marquis of Cadiz, determined on making a descent on the rich province of Malaga.

No sooner was the project bruited than numerous bands of volunteers, tempted by the prospect of reaping

factions that had so long divided it. Francis Phœbus, son of Gaston de Foix, was declared of age, and crowned in Pamplona, in November of the year 1482; but this Prince, famed for his beauty and the golden colour of his hair, from which it is said he derived his second name, survived his accession but a few months, dying, it was suspected, from the effects of poison, January 30th, 1483.

a rich booty, joined the expedition. So certain of success did the enterprise appear, that numbers followed the army to purchase on their own account, and on commission, rich silks, for the manufactures of which Malaga was famous, jewels, and other valuable booty which the soldiers were confident of winning. The way lay across a chain, or sierra of mountains called La Axarquia, over which were scattered villages inhabited by a rude, but brave and industrious Moorish, peasantry. On the 19th of March, the expedition, composed chiefly of the chivalry of the southern border, and of the brave knights of Santiago, under their Grand-Master Don Alonso de Cárdenas, set out from Antequera. The path of the invaders was traced by the ruin, desolation, and incendiarism that characterized the warfare of that epoch. The third day brought them in sight of Malaga, and here the glorious anticipations they had indulged were doomed to suffer the most cruel disappointment. Muley Hassan having been forced to abandon his capital to his son, had found an asylum in this city, which, with those of Baeza, Guadix, and a few others, remained faithful to him. The old monarch had purchased experience too dearly not to be prepared for a storm, the approach of which had been heralded by the glare of the burning villages; and aided by his wise and valiant brother, El Zagal, he took such measures as ended in the total discomfiture of the confident foe.

The Castilians endeavoured, when too late, to retreat, but the rapidly increasing darkness rendered it almost impossible for them to extricate themselves from the

toils into which their imprudence had precipitated them, and the effort was attended with the loss of numbers of the noblest blood of Spain. The victorious Moorish chiefs re-entered the gates of Malaga with upwards of sixteen hundred prisoners, leaving a thousand of the invaders stretched lifeless. The fate of the majority of those who escaped immediate death or captivity was scarcely more enviable. Such as were not crushed in the defiles, by the enormous stones and masses of rock hurled on them by the irritated peasantry, they had on the two preceding days forced to flee from their burning and plundered homes, wandered for days through the intricate mountain passes, seeking the way back to Antequera, Alhama and other places.

This brilliant victory, achieved by five hundred Moors over four thousand Christians, reflects no shame on the latter, who laboured under the disadvantage of fighting on ground totally unknown to them, entangled in a difficult mountain pass, and exposed to the unerring arrows of the most expert marksmen in the world, directed at them from the heights that towered above them. While their own horse was totally incapacitated from acting, by the narrowness of the defile through which they were wending their way, they found themselves hemmed in by the light cavalry of the Moors, well trained to the broken ground and intricacies of the passes. Prodigies of individual valour were performed by the Castilian knights, many of the noblest of whom were slain, and others captured.

The joy this signal triumph diffused throughout

Granada was soon damped by a defeat that afforded the Christians some consolation for the one they had themselves so lately sustained. The young King, Boabdil, fearful lest his father's prowess might effect a sudden revulsion in the feelings of the capricious multitude towards their ejected monarch, determined to achieve some conquest, the glory of which should efface that acquired by his father. The people, elated by the recent events, joyfully giving him their co-operation, Boabdil was soon at the head of a brilliant force of nine thousand infantry and seven thousand horse, with which he set out on the 20th of April. This expedition had been suggested to Boabdil by his father-in-law, Aliatar, who, though of plebeian birth, had, by his bravery and ability, risen progressively from the lowest to the highest military rank, and, by the marriage of his daughter with the young King, now found himself allied to the royal family. Its chief object was the capture of the town of Lucena, famed more for size and wealth, than strength.

Don Diego Hernandez de Cordova, *alcayde de los donceles,** governor of the pages of the royal household, and entrusted with the command of Lucena, apprised of the destination of the expedition, gave notice of the impending danger to his uncle the Count of Cabra, and made such preparation for defence as the poor fortifications of the town permitted. The surrounding country was roused by numerous beacon fires, and the Moors, who had thought to arrive unexpectedly,

* These *donceles* (pages) were noblemen's sons, educated in the royal household, and forming a regularly-organized corps of militia.

were themselves surprised by the continued arrival of the different banners of the Castilian chiefs hastening to the scene of action. Surprise on their rear inducing the belief that the Christian forces were far more numerous than was really the case, produced a sudden panic in the Moorish files.

The infantry, anxious to preserve the spoil with which they were loaded, immediately took to flight, basely leaving the cavalry to sustain all the brunt of the battle. The young King bravely endeavoured to keep his ground, and stay the torrent of fugitives, who, heedless of his spirited remonstrances, disbanded in every direction. He himself, finding that his splendid dress, and the magnificent caparisons of his snow-white war-horse, rendered him a conspicuous mark for the foe, was obliged to dismount, and seek safety among the thickets of reeds that bordered the river Xenil, in which numbers of his soldiers found a watery grave, while endeavouring to escape from the Castilians. He was soon descried, however, and attacked by three soldiers, against whom he defended himself some time with his poniard, until, on the point of being overpowered, he was compelled to name himself, and was conducted to the Count of Cabra. The courteous Spaniard received his royal prisoner with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes; giving him such entertainment and consolation as was in his power.

A most disastrous journey had this proved to the Moors. The cavalry, composed of the flower of Granada's noblest knights, bearing themselves as became men of their birth, were literally cut to pieces.

The brave old Aliatar, in his ninetieth year, had perished in the vain endeavour to retrieve the lost day.

Great was the dismay which the news of the defeat and capture of the King produced in Granada. Nearly every family of note lamented the loss of one or more of its members. Many, now repenting of their injudicious choice of the Prince, to whose imprudence was attributed the disaster that had taken place, loudly solicited the return of the old monarch; while the Sultana, alarmed at the symptoms of re-action manifested in favour of the husband from whom she could hope for no favour, and rightly judging that every day her son remained in captivity weakened his influence, took immediate measures for his liberation.

Ferdinand, who had in the meanwhile been engaged in an extensive tala in the plain of Granada, on receiving news of the important event that had taken place, hastened to Cordova, whither the hapless Boabdil had been conveyed. The King of Castile, from motives of delicacy, refused to add by his presence to the mortification of his fallen foe, until the terms of his ransom had been decided on. The embassy sent by Aïscha to offer, without the slightest regard for the interest of the nation, the most extravagant price for the liberty of her son, having arrived in Cordova, warm debates took place in the King's Council on this important question. Some were of opinion, that more advantageous terms could be obtained of Muley Hassan, who was anxious to have his rebellious son delivered

to him. Others deemed it advisable that the Prince should be detained a prisoner, the more effectually to break the spirit of the Moors. Others, again, were of opinion that the proposed terms should be accepted, as the Moors would then continue divided among themselves, and be more easily subdued than if allowed to unite under one chief, and that chief the experienced Hassan.

The Queen, without whose participation no decision could be taken, was then at Victoria, hastening the negotiations for the marriage of her son and the young Queen of Navarre. The question being submitted to her, together with the opinions of the council, she immediately decided with the Marquis of Cadiz and the Cardinal, who strenuously advised the release of Boabdil on the proposed terms, and also the upholding of his claims against those of his father.

Ferdinand, on receiving Isabel's answer, had an interview with his prisoner. The conduct of the Castilian monarch, on this occasion, was fraught with good feeling and courtesy. His nobles insisting on the Moorish sovereign kissing the hand of their own King, as an acknowledgment of the vassalage to which the terms of his liberation subjected him, Ferdinand firmly refused to allow of this mark of homage; nobly replying to those who urged it, that "were the King of Granada free, and in his own dominions, the King of Castile would feel justified in exacting it, but not while Boabdil is a prisoner in mine."

Boabdil, and the fifty noble Moors who had come to treat of his ransom, were presented by Ferdinand with

magnificent gifts of horses, rich brocades, and silks, besides a sum of money sufficient to defray their expenses to Granada. Well might he afford to show generosity to the weak monarch, whose ransom had been purchased on terms so advantageous to Castile, and so ruinous to Granada. Boabdil had bound himself to surrender four hundred captives, and such as the sovereigns chose to name, within five years. He was to pay a yearly tribute of twelve thousand doblas zaenes (fourteen thousand ducats of Castile), and, as the vassal of Castile, to attend Cortes, whenever summoned. He was to allow a free passage through any portion of the territory of Granada acknowledging his sway, and furnish with supplies the troops Ferdinand sent against his father, the old King. Such were the onerous conditions on which Boabdil obtained his freedom, and a truce for two years, giving his eldest son and twelve of those of his chief nobles, as hostages for their fulfilment.

But though the weak monarch had purchased a temporary sovereignty at so costly a price, he forfeited, in so doing, the affection and confidence of the majority of his adherents, who looked on the ally of the Christians, as a traitor to his faith and to his country. Vainly did his mother lavish the royal treasures to purchase the trust her son had ceased to inspire; he was soon compelled to seek aid and protection from the sovereigns to whom he had sacrificed his people's interests. The Alfaquis preached against him as a renegade, and his adherents flocked to the banner of Muley Hassan. His stay in Granada was short, and

in his turn he was compelled to leave the capital from which he had formerly driven his father, and take refuge in Guadiz, whence he removed to Vera, and afterwards to Almeria, where he established his Court, and carried on the war with the districts that recognised the sway of Muley Hassan.

The contest between father and son was contemplated with no little satisfaction by the Castilian sovereigns: and the adelantados of Jaen and Murcia, in conformity with the instructions transmitted to them by Ferdinand, gave every assistance in their power to Boabdil, to protract a struggle which weakened both parties. Although no engagement of note took place during the ensuing two years, the Castilians continued slowly but steadily to gain ground, possessing themselves of several small Moorish towns, and of numerous fortresses, which were razed immediately on their surrender.

On the 28th of October of that year (1483), the Marquis of Cadiz recovered the little town of Zahara, for which feat, accomplished chiefly by his personal valour, he was rewarded with the addition to his titles, of that of Duke of Zahara, and to his possessions, of the town itself, bestowed on him by Isabel and Ferdinand, who omitted no occasion of showing honour to those whose services entitled them to the royal favour. For another deed of high daring performed by this noble, who was reputed one of the bravest soldiers of his age, Ferdinand granted to him and to his heirs the dress worn by the Kings of Castile on Lady-day. On the wife of Don Luis Hernandez Puertocarrero, Isabel bestowed a similar grant, in memory of the valour

shown by her husband in a border foray, in which, after having with an inferior number of soldiers put to rout a large party of Moors, he took from them fifteen banners which he presented to the Queen.

While the King was absent on the extensive foraging expedition already mentioned, Isabel remained in Biscay, where her tact and judgment were efficaciously employed in healing the deep scars left by the still recent disturbances. Though she employed without hesitation coercive measures with such nobles as chose, regardless of law or the royal authority, to settle their disputes *vi et armis*, she neglected none of the little arts of conciliation likely to win the good-will of her subjects, and seldom failed in achieving her object. During her stay in the province she adopted its picturesque costume; and would often impart proud delight to the Biscayan dames, by borrowing articles of dress from them, which she would wear, giving in exchange others far more costly to the gratified owners.

Neglecting no means of increasing her forces, she extended her pardon and protection to those who had incurred the rigour of the law, on condition that they would serve in the war against Granada. Magdalene, the mother of the young Queen of Navarre, showing far more inclination to favour France than Castile, Ferdinand and Isabel deemed it expedient to prepare for contingencies, by fortifying their northern frontier, and for this purpose, on the 28th of April, the same day that Ferdinand left for Cordova, the Queen repaired to Logroño, where she took measures to strengthen her

interest in the little kingdom which formed the key to her own dominions.

The death of Louis XI., which took place in August of that year, brought little change in the relations between France and Castile. Louis had, in his last moments, ordered the restitution of the provinces of Ampurdan and Roussillon; but his successor, although professing friendly feelings towards the Castilian monarchs, returned evasive answers to the demand preferred by them on this subject.*

The tribunal of the Inquisition being now firmly established in Castile, Ferdinand determined to introduce it into his hereditary dominions. The Pope, at the solicitation of the sovereigns, having invested Torquemada with the office of Inquisitor-General of Castile and Aragon, it was soon seen that no fitter instrument could have been selected. No means were left untried which could lead to the conviction of delinquents—that is, of all converts suspected of having reverted to the Jewish faith, or to that of Islam. The generous blood of the proud Catalans, Valencians, and Aragonese, was

* The following trait of disinterestedness is related of Don Juan de Ribera, the Castilian Ambassador, who, on the death of Louis, was sent with the usual compliments of condolence to his successor. Perceiving little chance of success to the misssion with which he was intrusted, concerning the restitution of the provinces, he was preparing to depart, when messengers from Charles VIII. brought to his inn costly gifts from their master, but the Ambassador could by no persuasion be induced to receive anything from the generosity of the sovereign who refused to do justice to his demands, and they were compelled to take them back.

roused at this indignity. Strong protests were entered against so barefaced a violation of the constitution; but the just remonstrances of a nation had no effect in mitigating the intolerance of the sovereigns; and, notwithstanding the spirited effort made in Tarraçona by the Cortes held there in 1484, the arbitrary will of Ferdinand forced on his subjects an institution, the monstrous tyranny of which is without a parallel.

The bold spirit of the nation was not, however, easily bowed to the demon yoke that galled it for centuries, until every vestige of its original brilliancy had been well-nigh quenched. In Saragossa, especially, vigorous efforts were made to oppose the establishment of a tribunal, expressly forbidden by particular clauses of the liberal constitution of Aragon. Deputations were sent to the Pope and to Ferdinand, and the Justicia (chief justiciary) of Aragon was solicited to interpose his authority to prevent this flagrant infringement of the charter. All was vain. In the spring of 1485 the Inquisition celebrated its *autos da fé* with the usual ceremonies; and the people, goaded to madness by the impossibility of obtaining the legal redress which they implored, sought by other means to attain the desired end. A conspiracy was set on foot for the murder of the three inquisitors of the diocese of Saragossa. The new Christians were the originators of this desperate scheme, but numbers of the high nobility were also participators in it.

The chief of the three inquisitors, Pedro de Arbues, having rendered himself particularly obnoxious by his

merciless condemnations, was designated as the first victim. The execution of the design was, however, difficult, for the inquisitor was well aware of the hatred he had incurred, and took every precaution to avert its consequences. The avenues to his chamber were well guarded, while his person was no less amply protected by a complete coat of mail and a helmet, which he constantly wore under his robes and cowl when he stirred abroad. After several fruitless attempts, the conspirators at length found means to effect an entrance, and to conceal themselves in the church where their intended victim performed his nightly devotions.

Shortly after midnight the inquisitor entered, a lantern in one hand, and his lance—without which he never left his chamber—in the other. Having rested his weapon against one of the columns beside him, he knelt before the altar. Listening only to the suggestions of hatred, and unmindful of the sanctity of the place, one of the conspirators stole behind him and wounded him in the arm with his poniard, while another struck him twice in the neck with his sword. The wounds were mortal, and d'Arbues fell, blessing God that he should have been allowed to die in so holy a cause. The murderers would have severed the head from the body, had not the priests who were in the choir been roused by the noise, and hastening towards the spot, prevented them from bearing away the bloody trophy. Life, however, was not extinct in the inquisitor, who was immediately carried to the nearest house, that of Manuel de Ariño, where he lingered until the fol-

lowing night. The deed was far from having the desired effect, which was to produce such fear in the ministers of the dread tribunal, that they would not dare to renew their inquisitorial researches.

The lower classes, already predisposed by envy against the rich inhabitants of Jewish extraction, now goaded by superstitious rage, and knowing nothing of the real object of the conspiracy, which they attributed to a design for the subversion of Church and State, rose *en masse*, and would have massacred indiscriminately all the converts. But this wholesale revenge would have defeated the object of the wily members of the Holy Office; and the Archbishop, mounting his horse, rode through the city, assuring the inhabitants that the outrage should be duly visited on the perpetrators.

Nor was the promise vain. Torrents of blood were shed to atone for the stream that had been poured out on the consecrated ground. With the scent of the trained blood-hound, the agents of vengeance sought out the actors of the tragedy, all of whom were hung, with the previous amputation of their right hands; while the event, serving as a special pretext for stricter severity against those suspected of heresy, two hundred persons were burnt alive, and numbers suffered other punishments, or were subjected to the most humiliating penances. Of these victims many were of the chief nobility. The body of the murdered man was interred on the spot where he was struck down, and a splendid monument was raised over it. He now ranks among the martyred saints, having been canonized

by Pope Paul III., at the solicitation of the Emperor Charles V.

Throughout the dominions of Isabel and Ferdinand the iniquitous tribunal was now firmly established. Intolerance, judicial cruelty, and superstition, prime ministers of the spirit of evil, took their places near the throne; and instituted in honour of the God of peace sacrifices, the barbarity of which effaces the memory of the pagan rites of antiquity. Catholicism, no longer the tutelary genius which had guided its fervent devotees to the re-conquest of the land of their forefathers, now arrayed in blood-red robes, distorting its mission, and abusing its power, with iron grasp arrested the onward rolling-car of civilization, and with merciless feet crushed the rising spirit of industry. To recapitulate the dark proceedings by which, on the most frivolous accusations, and the most absurd pretences, eleven thousand persons perished in less than half a century, would be as harrowing to the reader as to the narrator. It were dangerous for the historian to dwell too long on the records of these frightful atrocities, lest the eyes, fatigued with gazing through the bloody mist, should fail to perceive the great and good qualities of his subject. Not to Rome must attach the odium of this monstrous conception. To the good, the pious, the gentle Queen, must be given the credit of having substituted to the temporary tyranny of a gallant and generous aristocracy, a despotic monarchy, and the unlimited spiritual thraldom of the Church.

The Queen, however, bent not her own neck to the

yoke she forced on her people. She admitted in politics, and rejected in religion, the right of resistance to the Church. More than once during her reign did she firmly repel the attempts of the Pope to encroach on her prerogatives. The Chancery Court she had established in Valladolid, having allowed an appeal to be made to the Pope in a civil cause, its president, judges, and every member of the tribunal, were immediately deprived of their offices by the indignant Isabel. In 1482, the Pope had, against the express wish of the Queen, nominated a nephew of his own to the See of Cuença, which, as an ecclesiastical preferment, was in her gift. Persisting in his nomination, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Court of Castile, Isabel and Ferdinand prepared, without any scruples of conscience, to resist his authority. Orders were forwarded to all their subjects residing in the Papal dominions to depart therefrom immediately, under the penalty of having whatever property they possessed in Castile confiscated.

The pontiff, alarmed at these demonstrations, and at the threat which they made of assembling a council of all the princes of Christendom, to examine into the pretensions of the Court of Rome, sent a Legate to effect a compromise; but the Queen was too much irritated by the attempt that had been made to infringe on her rights to be easily pacified, and ordered the envoy to quit the kingdom instantly. At the cost of great concessions, and with the intercession of the Cardinal Mendoza, the Legate obtained a hearing, and the breach was healed, the Pope confirming the

Queen's choice of Alfonso de Burgos, her chaplain, to the vacant See, and resigning all pretensions to the nomination of beneficiaries in Spain.

In 1485, while in Alcalá de Henares, a dispute occurring between the Alcaydes de Corte, or royal judges, and those of the Ecclesiastical Court, the Queen strenuously asserted the supremacy of her own jurisdiction wherever she was present, over that of the local ones; the Cardinal maintaining that the town belonging to him, and consequently being within his jurisdiction, no interference should be allowed with his tribunal. But the Queen was too tenacious of her prerogatives to give up any portion of them, even to this great favourite.

Shortly after the establishment of the Inquisition in Castile, the Pope himself, horrified at the barbarous executions which it sanctioned, sent to remonstrate against them; but unfortunately his arguments were overruled by the specious reasoning of the advocates of the new measures, who urged that the spread of the infectious heresies propagated by the Jews and others, could only be arrested by the rigorous course recently pursued.

From that moment were sown the seeds of the disease that was to fasten on the vitality of Spain; a slow but sure consumption, which allowed the exterior to remain beautiful with the florid hues of health while the heart was rotting. The very character of the Spaniard appeared to be influenced by the atmosphere, laden with sanctioned, legalized murder, which he breathed. His once joyous, frank, enthusiastic nature,

gradually became sombre, ferocious, suspicious, and fanatical.

Fortuitous events, beyond the calculation or the control of Isabel, threw a gorgeous veil over the cureless wound she had inflicted on the prosperity of Spain. The addition of a new world to her sway protracted the existence of the old monarchy, and enabled it to struggle in its fetters through long ages; but while every other nation progressed, Spain, even allowing that she did not retrograde, remained stationary, notwithstanding that nature and fortune, lavishing their choicest gifts upon her, had rendered her superior to all others. Facts are more illustrative of character than whole pages of description; and that of Isabel is stamped in her acts.

On the 15th of December, 1485, in Alcalá de Henares, was born the Infanta Catalina, the last child of the Spanish sovereigns, and destined to marry a monarch who would labour as diligently to extirpate from his dominions the Catholic faith, as her mother then was to establish it in her own.

During this year, the Pope again granted a tenth part of the ecclesiastical revenues of Castile and Aragon to be appropriated to the expenses of the Moorish war. A second crusade was also published. In the following year, the pontiff repeated the former grant.

In the Cortes held in Tarragona, February, 1484,* it

* During this year the Assembly of the Santa Hermandad, convened at Orgaz, voted the large subsidy of ten and a half millions of maravedis for the continuation of the war with Granada.

had been proposed that hostilities with Granada should be suspended for a season. The nobles were weary of this expensive and prolonged warfare; and Ferdinand himself was anxious for a respite that would allow him to attend in person to the affairs of Aragon, which were, during his absence, under the superintendence of a Lieutenant-General. He was also desirous of taking advantage of the youth and inexperience of the successor of Louis to drive the French from the contested provinces; but Isabel was determined there should be no cessation in the war with Granada until the whole of its territory should be added to her domains, and, as usual, her will triumphed over all opposition. In lieu of a yearly campaign, as had formerly been the case, two expeditions, one in the spring and the other in the fall, were organized; and as each campaign was followed by the customary tala, the harassed Moors were prevented from reaping their harvests. The King in person headed his forces, while the Queen and the Cardinal, with admirable judgment, superintended the forwarding of the necessary supplies.

In the spring of the year, Alora, Alozayna, and Benamaquez,* capitulated. The conduct of Ferdinand, dictated by policy rather than by any feeling of humanity, contributed as much as his armies to bring about the submission of many places. Numbers, despairing of

* In the course of the following year, Benamaquez, having returned to the allegiance of the Moorish sovereign, was again besieged and taken by Ferdinand, who caused every inhabitant in it that had borne arms to be put to death, reduced the remainder to slavery, and razed the city.

being able to offer any effectual resistance to his artillery, accepted the liberal terms he offered without striking a blow. The King in general proffered the terms given to the Mozarabes, viz.: liberty of conscience, immunity of person and property, permission to maintain their own tribunals, and the imposition of no taxes in addition to those they had heretofore paid. Those who did not choose to abide under the sway of the Castilian sovereigns were permitted to go forth with their effects. In the course of three months, ninety-five towns and villages had submitted, or been conquered by force of arms.

In the meanwhile, discord continued to rage among the Moors with unabated violence. Muley Hassan* having lost his sight, and by other infirmities incidental to age become incapacitated to wield a sceptre that now more than ever required a strong arm, the majority of his subjects conferred the crown on his brave and experienced brother El Zagal Boabdil, compelled to flee, took refuge at the Spanish Court then held in Seville, where Ferdinand, faithful to the system which he had adopted, received the fugitive kindly, and furnished him with means to compete with his uncle. At the head of a band of Christian mercenaries Boabdil re-entered Granada, where he was joined by the partisans whom the intrigues of his mother had kept faithful to him; and the city being nearly equally divided between

* Some authors assert that the old monarch was deposed, others that his abdication was voluntary. Be this as it may, Muley survived his brother's accession but two months, and his death was attributed to poison.

the belligerent factions, a contest was waged that lasted fifty days and nights, during which the streets were deluged with blood. The Alfaquis and other chief personages at length effecting a compromise between the mad competitors, they divided the prize, Granada, Malaga, Almeria, Almuñecar, and Velez-Malaga, were assigned to El Zagal, and the remainder to Boabdil.

Among the possessions ceded to Boabdil was the important one of Lója, the key to the rich valley watered by the Xeml, and which was so strongly fortified as to have twice bid defiance to the efforts of Ferdinand. Boabdil having reason to believe that his ally meant to attempt a third time, and at the head of all his forces, the conquest of this town, sent to inform him of the compromise that had placed Lója under his sway, and to remind him of the terms of the treaty of Cordova, by which the Castilian monarch was bound to respect his vassal's dominions. He also endeavoured to persuade him to turn his forces on Malaga, offering him a passage through his territory, and every assistance to facilitate the conquest of his rival's richest city; but no consideration of honour could ever induce Ferdinand to sacrifice his interests; he had laid out his plan for the ensuing campaign, and Lója was the chief object in view. He was, moreover, exceedingly annoyed that the Moors should have ceased to destroy each other, and therefore in no mood to grant the petition of Boabdil, to whom he replied that "Lója was excepted from the terms of the treaty!"

The miserable Prince, forced to undertake and carry on the defence of the city, lest he should confirm the

suspicions his subjects already entertained of him, was ultimately obliged to surrender. He prostrated himself at the feet of the conqueror, and was allowed the title of Duke of Guadix, in lieu of the regal one he was made to resign; binding himself, should he regain possession of his capital, to open its gates to Ferdinand. These terms, little calculated to increase his popularity with his countrymen, were kept secret. The ostensible articles of the capitulation were that the inhabitants should be allowed to depart with their portable effects, and settle if they chose in Aragon or Castile.* Ferdinand offered to them the same terms as to the Mudejares;† but not one of the inhabitants choosing to accept this last proposal, they were escorted to the gates of Granada by the Marquis of Cadiz.

Illora, Moclin, Colomera, and Montefrio, fell successively under the sway of Ferdinand. Thus ended the campaigns of 1486, the King reserving his forces for the conquest of Malaga in the ensuing year. During this time the brave El Zagal had not been inactive. Soon after his accession, on the 3rd of September, he had achieved a brilliant victory over the forces of the Count of Cabra; but by two subsequent defeats, he completely forfeited the favour of the capricious multitude. The intriguing Aïscha did not

* The lands confiscated from the relapsed converts in Seville and other places, were frequently bestowed on the Moors driven from Granada, who, removing thither with their metallic wealth, in process of time furnished fresh food for the insatiate tribunal of the Inquisition, and funds to the royal treasury.

† Mudejares—Moors living in the dominions of the Christian sovereigns.

fail to improve the opportunity; and on his return from an expedition, El Zagal found his nephew in possession of the Albayzin. Once more was Granada the scene of a bloody conflict between her unnatural children. As the young King was aided by the Christian mercenaries sent to him by Ferdinand, among whom was the afterwards far-famed Gonzalo de Cordova, the great captain, at the head of three hundred men, El Zagal withdrew from Granada with twenty thousand of his warriors. With this force, anxious to regain his former popularity, the chief endeavoured to force Ferdinand to raise the siege of Velez-Malaga, with which he had opened the campaign of 1487; but finding himself foiled in this attempt by the disaffection of his own soldiers, as well as the disinclination to co-operate with him shown by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, El Zagal retired to the province of Almeria, then governed by his brother-in-law.

The surrender of the rich and important city of Velez-Malaga, which took place on the 27th of April, was followed by the voluntary submission of some fifty petty fortresses and villages of the adjoining districts, and the road was left open for the conquest of the city of Malaga.

Notwithstanding the advantages which Ferdinand derived from the reduction of the surrounding country, the siege of Malaga was an undertaking of scarcely less difficulty than that of the capital itself. This wealthy and beautiful city, situated on a territory unsurpassed for its fertility, was also one of the best fortified places in the Moorish dominions. Eighty

strong towers flanked its solidly constructed walls, while four inexpugnable citadels, the Gibralfaro and the Alcazaba, built on the brow of a hill, and towering above the city, and the Castillo Genoves and that of the Atarazanas commanding the coast and port, all communicating with each other by subterranean passages, overlooked every position that could be taken up by a besieging army. The town lay between two suburbs, also encompassed by high walls on all sides but one, and that bordered by the sea. These suburbs, intersected with gardens, afforded ample scope for that species of guerilla warfare in which the Moors excelled, while the proximity of the coast allowed them to receive all the supplies that their allies in Africa, baffling the vigilance of the Spanish fleet, managed to land there. Men, horses, provisions, and money were furnished in abundance from the kingdoms of Tunis, Tripolis, Fez, and Tremecen, whose inhabitants considered themselves called on to contribute gratuitously to the support of their brethren in the faith of Mahomet. Ferdinand, appalled by the difficulties before him, gladly received the proposal of surrender made to him by Aben Comixa, the Governor of Malaga appointed by Boabdil; but while the negotiations were pending, the inhabitants, conscious of their powers of resistance, seized the opportunity afforded by the absence of Comixa, who had gone to treat with Ferdinand in Velez-Malaga, deposed him, and appointed some of the partizans of El Zagal to the charge of defending their city.

Ferdinand immediately endeavoured to seduce the

three new commanders, Ashmet-el-Zegri, Ibrahim-el-Zenete, and Hassan of Santa Cruz, but his offers were repulsed with scorn and indignation. Ashmet, to whom the King offered the lordship of Coin, together with four thousand doblas, proudly replied: "My countrymen have proved by their choice of me to defend them, that they deem me one of the worthiest among them, and I were truly the basest did I accept your bribes and sell my honour; let not the insulting proposal be repeated lest its bearers be treated as foes."

The King, with an army of twelve thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, arrived, on the 7th of May, within two leagues of Malaga, and made another ineffectual effort to obtain its surrender. Finding the three chiefs impervious to bribery, he endeavoured to negotiate with the inhabitants, to whom he offered the choice of submission on the most liberal terms, or of being reduced to slavery should the city be taken by force of arms. Many of the wealthy merchants, especially among the Jews, unaccustomed to war, dreading the hardships of a siege, and anxious to save their vast possessions, inclined to accept the offered terms, but Ashmet caused them to stifle such unworthy thoughts, and threatened to turn the batteries of the citadels on the town if the defence were even lukewarm.

All that the most brilliant valour, the most consummate skill, and the most determined perseverance, could accomplish, was done for the defence of Malaga, by its gallant commanders during the five months that

the protracted siege lasted. Never had the Moorish character appeared to greater advantage; and numerous traits are recorded exemplifying their magnanimity, patriotism, and courage. Inch by inch did Ashmet dispute the suburbs, and even the streets of the town; and when the inhabitants would no longer hold out, he retreated to the citadel of Gibralfaro, determined to bury himself in its ruins sooner than surrender. Such was the terror he had inspired, that in the month of July the Castilian nobles proposed to Ferdinand to take upon themselves the expenses of the war, on condition that they should not be led to the assault. Ibrahim was no less distinguished than his colleague for courage and ability. He headed all the sallies, and rendered them formidable to the besiegers.

On one occasion, having surprised the outposts of the Marquis of Cadiz, and, after routing a body of Spanish soldiers, arrived very near the tents of that nobleman, he met a number of the children of the nobility, who, deeming themselves in perfect safety, were at play in a neighbouring field. Touching them gently with the handle of his lance, he bade them "Go home, little ones, home to your mothers." His companions murmuring at his sparing these embryo foes, he excused himself by saying, that "he could not strike where he saw no beards." Little grace did the noble warrior subsequently meet with from his conquerors.

An epidemic having made its appearance in the neighbouring villages, caused great apprehension in the Christian camp. Much difficulty was also fre-

quently experienced in conveying supplies to the army, many delays occurring both by sea and land, and occasioning privations and consequent dissatisfaction among the soldiers. Those who were anxious that this apparently impracticable enterprise should be given up, industriously circulated a report that the Queen, convinced of its impossibility, had repeatedly written to the King, advising him to relinquish it, and return; while Ferdinand, conscious that the Queen's presence alone could restore confidence to the discouraged troops, sent to apprize her of its necessity, and she immediately repaired to the camp, accompanied by the Infanta Isabel, the Cardinal, and a numerous retinue of ladies and courtiers. The Marquis of Cadiz, and the Grand-Master of Santiago, at the head of a brilliant array of nobles, received the Queen at some distance from the camp, whither she was escorted amid the joyous acclamations of the lately despondent soldiery.

Crowds of nobles, whose youth had hitherto exempted them from the toils of war, anxious to serve under the eyes of the distinguished ladies who now honoured the camp with their presence, hastened to join the army.

The arrival of the Queen was notified to the besieged as a proof of the determination which the sovereigns had formed to persevere in the siege; and the offer of the terms they had formerly rejected was now renewed by Ferdinand, backed by the threat that, if they were not immediately accepted, "with the grace of God he would make them all slaves!" Some of the wealthy citizens, unused to the hardships and priva-

tions incidental to a city in a state of siege, and alarmed at the consequences that would ensue should it be taken by force, ventured to propose in the council a capitulation, and were immediately punished with death for the suggestion by the Gomeres. This valiant troop of African auxiliaries, enthusiastic in the defence of the faith of Islam, greeted the proposals of Ferdinand with a volley from every battery on the ramparts, and the contest was renewed with vigour. At every hour of the day and night, the staunch defenders would sally forth and fall on the enemy's outposts with resistless fury. In one of these sallies, the Marquis of Cadiz, who had been persuaded against the dictates of his own better judgment to pitch his tents too near the town, had well-nigh been made prisoner.

While the inhabitants of Malaga were exerting every faculty in the defence of their faith, their homes, their families, and their liberty, all they held sacred and dear, their countrymen in Granada were not indifferent to their fate, and made secret efforts to relieve them, which were foiled by the arch-traitor Boabdil. A fine body of cavalry sent by El Zagal from Guadix, was prevented from entering the beleaguered city, and attacked and cut to pieces by his rival, at the head of a far superior force. The wretch filling up the measure of his baseness, after having defeated his brethren, sent an embassy to the Christian camp with gifts to Isabel of Oriental perfumes and rich silks, and to Ferdinand of Arab steeds, magnificently caparisoned, together with a submissive message, professing himself ever ready to serve them

as the most devoted and faithful of their vassals. His adhesion was requited by assurances from the sovereigns of their continued protection, and the ratification of the permission already given to his subjects of cultivating their fields unmolested, and of trading with the camp. This politic measure, while it brought provisions to the Christian forces, prevented the inhabitants of Granada from openly expressing the sympathy they could not but feel for the Malagans. Fettered by the fear of being prevented from pursuing their agricultural labours, and from continuing their mercantile transactions, they were reduced to endeavour to assist their brethren by means which, from being covert, were ineffectual.

In the meanwhile, the siege was continued with systematic vigour. The strictest discipline was established in the camp, duelling, gambling, and blasphemy, being prohibited under severe penalties. Courtesans and idlers were banished beyond the outposts. Watches, and a species of night police, were established, to prevent fires and disturbances, while courts of justice were instituted to take cognizance of all misdemeanours. Hospitals for the sick and wounded were established by the Queen, who took the immediate charge of this entirely new department. This strict discipline, and the numerous precautions taken to preserve order, were indispensable in a host that increased daily, and finally numbered, according to some authors, ninety thousand men.

Hunger at length began to be felt in the beleaguered

city. The Moors, with their usual improvidence, had laid in a stock of provisions wholly inadequate to supply, for any length of time, the wants of the numbers cooped up in the town; and while the auxiliary soldiers sustained their strength for some time by pillaging the houses of whatever food they contained, famine soon began to number its victims among the citizens. The despair of seeing themselves relieved, and the hopelessness of extricating themselves from the relentless grasp of the conquerors, suggested the execution of deeds that in the days of ancient Rome would have covered the perpetrators with glory, but which are mentioned either with cold indifference, or with execration, by chroniclers whose eyes, blinded by bigotry, could see nothing noble or good in adversaries of a different creed. A party of several hundred Moors, preferring death by the swords of the enemy to the lingering one that awaited them within the walls, precipitated themselves furiously on the Christian files, and perished to a man, bearing with them to the regions of eternal darkness, numbers of their foes.

Abraham Algerbi, a Moor of the fanatical tribe of the Gomeres, in whom some will admire a second Scævola, and others see a fanatic whom religion had rendered insane, possessed by the idea that with the death of the sovereigns his country would be rescued from the impending doom of slavery, determined to sacrifice himself to accomplish this end. Moved also by patriotic motives, and spurred on by the exhortations of this man, whose ascetic life had procured for him the reputation of a saint, four hundred Moors from

Guadix determined to cut their way through the hostile forces, into the city. Two hundred of the heroic little band succeeded; the remainder were overwhelmed and put to death. After the tumult had subsided, Abraham was found by the Spanish soldiers, alone and immovable in an attitude of prayer. When questioned, he said that he had been commissioned by the Deity to reveal to the sovereigns certain matters of import, and that to none but their Majesties was he permitted to communicate the purport of the Divine mission. He was taken to the tent of the Marquis of Cadiz, who, though distrusting the seer, felt it incumbent on him to report the incident to the Queen. Ferdinand was at the time taking his siesta, and Isabel, though curious to hear the pretended revelations, being, as the old chronicler avers, prompted by Heaven, deferred seeing the Moor until the King should awaken, and ordered that in the meanwhile he should be conducted to the tent of the Marchioness of Moya. That lady was at the time conversing with Don Alvaro, of Portugal, and his wife Dona Felipa.

Deluded by the rich furniture of the tent, and the magnificent apparel of the Marchioness and of the Portuguese noble, and totally ignorant of the language in which they spoke, the Moor imagined himself in the presence of the sovereigns, and suddenly drawing his poniard from beneath his albornoz, inflicted a severe wound on Don Alvaro, and aimed another at the Marchioness. From the haste with which he struck, the weapon was caught in the heavy embroidery of her dress, and before he could extricate it, and repeat the

blow with better effect, Don Lopez de Toledo, one of the Queen's secretaries, who was present, had sprung upon him and pinioned his arms. The attendants who rushed in at the screams of the ladies, literally cut the assassin in pieces, and in their blind rage discharged them from a catapult into the besieged town. The countrymen of the victim of his patriotism, collected and sewed together his mangled remains, which were embalmed and deposited as sacred relics in a superb tomb. They then proceeded to retaliate the last insult by killing a Galician gentleman, one of their prisoners, and sending the corpse astride on an ass through one of the gates of the city into the camp.

This attempt on the lives of the sovereigns increased the vigilance already established. No Moor, under any pretence whatsoever, was now allowed to enter the royal quarters, and a guard of young Aragonese and Castilian hidalgos, with their retainers, was appointed to watch over the personal safety of the King and Queen.

Though famine continued its work, the Malagans, stimulated by their African allies, who punished with death any expression of a wish to surrender, persisted in their heroic defence. The breaches torn in the massive walls by the heavy bombards of the enemy, were repaired immediately, and when this was impossible, inner works were constructed to cover them. The mines of the Spaniards were rendered useless by countermines; and the contending parties not unfrequently meeting each other in these subterranean labours, the assailants were beaten back, and sustained

considerable loss. The most loathsome substances were sought after, and voraciously consumed by the starving citizens. Boiled leather, and the most noisome animals were eaten by adults, while to children was given a sort of paste, made of pounded vine leaves, fried in oil.

Sickness, brought on by these unwholesome aliments, soon increased the mortality fearfully, and numbers, making their escape to the enemy's camp, sold themselves as slaves for the sake of obtaining food. Still the garrison of Africans held out; their energy appeared to increase as their numbers and strength diminished. They fought, says the chronicler, not like men pinched by hunger, but with the endurance of well-fed soldiers. In daily, nightly, hourly engagements, did the indomitable Commander, with his famished men, weary the besiegers to such a degree, that the sovereigns were compelled to solicit reinforcements from Toledo, Segovia, Madrid, Alcarez, Trujillo, Caceres, and Badajoz.

Moved at last by the spectacle of misery presented by this once gay and brilliant city, Ashmet retired to the citadel of Gibralfaro with his brave Africans, leaving the citizens to make the best terms they could for themselves; when relieved from the terror of his presence, the wretched Malagans deputed a wealthy merchant, called Ali Dordux,* accompanied

* Some writers affirm that Dordux sacrificed the interests of his countrymen to secure his own: and, in accordance with the wishes of Ferdinand, held out hopes of mercy he knew to be fallacious, to induce them to surrender at discretion. The fact that he and forty of his relatives were allowed their freedom, and the unmolested posses-

by an Alfaqui, and four of the chief inhabitants, to negotiate for them with the Christian sovereigns. But the extreme distress to which they were reduced was well known to Ferdinand, and to the offer they made of surrendering on the terms proposed to them at the commencement of the siege, he sternly replied that the time for clemency had gone by, and that having twice rejected those terms, they must now surrender at discretion, and abide his pleasure.

This answer filled with anguish every heart in Malaga. The envoys were again sent to the camp to expostulate with the sovereigns, and to represent the danger of urging the citizens beyond the limits of endurance; as they declared that, should the King persist in refusing to ensure to them their lives and freedom, they would hang from the battlements every Christian of the five hundred prisoners who were in Malaga; shut up their old men, women, and children in the fortress, set fire to the town, and sally forth to slay and be slain—to die but not unavenged—giving to the sovereigns a bloody but fruitless triumph, and bequeathing the name of Malaga, crowned with laurels, to the latest posterity.

To this threat the King remained unmoved, repeating his previously-given answer, with the addition that if a single Christian prisoner was harmed, not a Moor should be left alive in Malaga.

Great was the agitation which this inflexible resolu-

sion of their property, goes far to substantiate the truth of this assertion.

tion occasioned in the city. Some, preferring a glorious death to seeing themselves and their loved ones reduced to slavery, vehemently urged the accomplishment of the threat; while others, clinging to life, and still willing to hope that the King would relent at the sight of their misery, insisted on the unconditional and immediate surrender which he demanded, lest he might be irritated by farther delays. This last opinion prevailing, the envoys once more returned to the camp, bearing to Ferdinand an epistle dictated by the eloquence of despair, in which the Malagans reminded the sovereigns of the liberality shown by their ancestors to the cities of Antequera, Cordova, and Algecira, which, after having been reduced to as great, if not greater, straits than Malaga, had been allowed by the conqueror the most liberal articles of capitulation. It concluded with the most pathetic appeal to his clemency, and the unconditional surrender required of them.

In compliance with the King's demands, the city, and the three citadels which were in the hands of the citizens, were surrendered to him on the 18th of August: on the 20th the fortress of Gibralfaro was, for want of provisions, also given up. Ashmet, its magnanimous Commander, was loaded with fetters, and thrown into prison by the heartless victor; but the undaunted Moor was not one to show weakness in adversity, and preserved in his dungeon the calm serenity of a truly great soul. When taunted for his rebellion, and the woes which his obstinacy had brought on Malaga, "I was chosen," he replied, "to defend

my country and my creed at the risk of my life; had I been supported I might have lost my life, but I would not have now been a captive."

No sooner was Malaga in his possession, than Ferdinand sent to summon the neighbouring towns of Míjas and Ossuna to surrender on the same terms that Malaga had capitulated. Appalled by the fall of that beautiful and strong city, and imagining the terms alluded to to be the same liberal ones which they knew had formerly been offered, the inhabitants of these towns fell into the snare, and opened their gates to the Spaniards; they saw their error when too late, and were immediately driven, like flocks of sheep, to join their brethren of Malaga, and to share their sad fate.

Ere the sovereigns could venture within the precincts of their new acquisition, it was found necessary to remove the bodies that, rotting in the very streets, in the attitudes in which death had overtaken them, poisoned the atmosphere. The chief mosque was then purified and consecrated to Santa Maria de la Encarnacion, after which the sovereigns, accompanied by the Cardinal, made their triumphal *entrée* in solemn state.

So far Ferdinand and Isabel had merely exercised the rights of conquerors; but the recital of the scenes that followed, and of the nefarious transactions by which they obtained possession of every article of property of the Malagans, even as given by their own partial chronicler, fills the reader with indignation.

The Spanish troops having been stationed in the fortresses, on the ramparts, and on every spot commanding an avenue of escape, the whole population of Malaga, amounting to fifteen thousand souls, the auxiliary troops numbering, notwithstanding the mortality that had decimated them, several thousands, and the inhabitants of Mijas and Osma, were collected in the spacious court-yard of the lower citadel, and directly under its batteries to be portioned out as slaves. One hundred Gomeres were reserved as a present for the Pope;* of the loveliest maidens, fifty were sent to the Queen of Naples, and thirty to the Queen of Portugal: many more were also distributed by Isabel among her ladies, and others she sent to her friends.

After this selection had been made, the remainder were divided into three lots: one was reserved to be exchanged for such Christians as were slaves among the Moors of Africa; and for this purpose, proclamation was made, that all who had relatives in slavery in Africa should send in their names, that they might be thus ransomed; another lot was to be sold to defray a part of the expense of the war; and the third was distributed among the Lords of the Council, the nobles, and officers, who had taken part in the expedition, according to their rank and services; the dukes receiving, each, one hundred slaves, the counts fifty, the knights a lesser number.

The Jews, who amounted to four hundred and fifty,

* The pontiff incorporated them into his guard; and, before the close of the year, had converted them all into excellent Christians.

endeavoured to ransom themselves, and with this object brought to the King the wealth they had concealed. Ferdinand, allowing them to entertain the hope of freedom, continued to exact more, until he found they had given their all; when he coolly informed them, that their riches formed a part of his booty, and could not therefore purchase their redemption! But from the doom of slavery which fell on their Moorish fellow-citizens, the Israelites were saved by their Castilian brethren, who raised in their synagogues the sum of twenty-seven thousand ducats, exacted by the King for their ransom. Lest, however, this trait, opening the eyes of the Moors to what they were to expect from the tender mercies of the victors, might lead them to destroy or keep secreted their treasures, it was proclaimed that a ransom would be admitted for the entire population, at the rate of thirty-six ducats for each person, if the whole amount was paid within eight months, during which time, all should remain as hostages for its payment; the jewels, plate, and other valuable effects in their possession were also to be given in as part payment, until the balance was raised; while those who died within the eight months were not to be deducted from the sum total.

Hard as were these terms, they held out so bright a hope, that the deluded Moors hastened to surrender the wealth they had secreted. Notwithstanding their efforts, however, and the liberal contributions sent to them from Africa, the enormous sum exacted of them was not completed within the prescribed term, and the

miserable people found that they had been the dupes of this truly diabolical expedient, and sacrificed their wealth only to rivet their chains. This device is in accordance with the infamous system of cruelty and deception pursued by Ferdinand and Isabel towards their Moorish subjects, whenever they deemed it safe and expedient. We find it related, that it was suggested in the council that the entire population of Malaga should be put to death to *punish* their heroic resistance, but that Isabel was too tender-hearted to allow of such a measure. Whatever might be her motive, it is certain that it was infinitely more profitable to reduce the Moors to bondage, while the butchery of such a number would have been attended by no little labour and danger in a city scarcely freed from the pestilential miasmata engendered by the late mortality.

That it rested with Isabel to have rendered the fate of the wretched Malagans more endurable no one will doubt; and though the records of her time represent her as prostrating her person at the feet of her confessor, they also show that nothing could bend her will when she chose to carry out any resolution. That she was a party in the nefarious schemes devised to cheat the Jews and Moors out of liberty, wealth, and all but the mere breath of life—leaving them that because it was of use to her—there is not a shadow of doubt, for her most extravagant panegyrists tell us, that nothing was done without her participation, and thus she cannot be screened from the odium of deeds more worthy of an Alaric than a Christian Princess.

The relapsed converts found in the city were given up to the Inquisition, and perished at the stake. Twelve renegades also found there were *acañaverados*, that is, they were used as marks in the game of *cañas* —pierced with reeds until they expired.

Thus was the entire population of a town, renowned for beauty, wealth, splendour, and refinement, reduced to slavery, without regard for rank, sex, age, or education. The lamentations of the wretched exiles as they were driven from their homes, are exquisitely given by the Christian chroniclers themselves; but words could only poorly express the anguish that sought a vent in them.

The inhabitants having been thus summarily disposed of, measures were taken to re-people the town, of which Don Garci Fernandez Manrique was named Governor. The inducements held out were such, that numbers came from Aragon and Castile to take possession of the houses and lands freely bestowed on such as would settle there; but many years passed ere this fair maritime city regained the importance which it had acquired under the Moors.

Having secured their new conquest, the sovereigns returned to Cordova, where they spent the winter.

In the spring of the following year (1488), frequent disturbances occurring in Aragon, and rendering the presence of the King necessary there, Isabel, with her son and her eldest daughter, accompanied him to Saragossa; and thence, after a short sojourn, to Valencia. Ferdinand, finding the execution of justice according to the usual forms, tardy, when not alto-

gether impracticable, instituted the tribunal of the Holy Brotherhood in both places, for a term of five years, instead of three, as it had originally been in Castile; and to this powerful engine were the sovereigns chiefly indebted for the facility with which they curbed the pride, and reduced the overgrown power, of the aristocracy. The duration, and the increase of strength given to this corps, rendered the monarch independent of the high vassals of the Crown; and the commons, feeling the immediate benefits of the system in the protection it afforded them, did not perceive the military despotism which it concealed. The nobles saw their fortresses dismantled or razed, and their privileges abridged, with little opposition; new, and hitherto unknown powers, were arrayed against them, and they submitted passively. Had not the war with Granada absorbed their attention, they would probably have endured less tamely being despoiled.

While in Aragon, the sovereigns received several embassies from foreign Princes. The King of Naples sent to require the accomplishment of the marriage between the Prince of Capua, his grandson, and the Infanta Isabel. Though this marriage had been agreed upon several years before, the Spanish sovereigns had no intention whatever of ever allowing it to take place, as they intended that this, Isabel's favourite child, should marry the King of France, or the Prince of Portugal. In answer to the King of Naples, they therefore proposed that the Infanta Maria should take her sister's place as the affianced bride of his grandson; and though this offer was as insincere as the former

promise, the Neapolitan monarch, anxious to secure the alliance of Spain as a support against the danger which he justly foreboded on the part of France, was fain to consent to the substitution.

Alain, Lord of Albret, the father-in-law of the young Queen of Navarre, also arrived unexpectedly at the Court of Isabel and Ferdinand. He was the bearer of several missions. One was to solicit the alliance of the sovereigns with Navarre, and their support of the young Queen and her husband, who were harassed by the factions that had become rooted in the kingdom during the civil wars. They were also threatened on one side by France, and on the other by Castile, which was already in possession of Tudela and many of their fortresses. In this dilemma, the young sovereigns had determined to choose one of the great rivals as a protector against the other. Isabel and Ferdinand lent a willing ear to the proposed alliance, and graciously agreed to give up the places of which they were in possession. A treaty of defence and aggression was concluded with Navarre, from which the King of France was nominally excepted, although he was in reality the chief object in view; but the estates of d'Albret, as well as the little kingdom of Navarre, were too much exposed to the vengeance of that monarch to allow, at this period, of any open demonstration of hostility.

D'Albret also came to solicit the assistance of the Catholic sovereigns in favour of Francis, Duke of Brittany, the most powerful of whose enemies was

Charles VIII., and at the same time he laid before them the oppression in which Maximilian, Duke of Austria, and now also Emperor and King of the Romans, was held by the citizens of Bruges, who kept him a prisoner in his own palace, and committed frightful outrages on his partisans.

To Maximilian, who, in his turn, solicited assistance to enable him to recover the duchy of Burgundy, his wife's inheritance, which had been usurped by France, and who offered, on his own part, to assist them to recover the provinces of Ampurdan and Roussillon, the sovereigns would willingly have given aid, but that the heavy outlays required to carry on the war with Granada, put it out of their power.* They, however, sent ambassadors to negotiate between Maximilian and his refractory subjects, and through their interference, matters were at length arranged between them. A fleet was also equipped and sent to the assistance of Britanny, but the expedition proved unfortunate, the Duke of Orleans, the ally of Francis, and Juan de Gralla, the Commander of the Spanish auxiliaries, being taken prisoners.† England also entered into the alliance formed with Austria against France.

* The first proposal of the alliance which subsequently took place between the Infanta Juana and the Archduke Charles of Austria, was broached at this time. Maximilian, whose first wife, Maria of Burgundy, was no more, while he proposed his son for Juana, offered himself to her elder sister Isabel; but to the last proposal Isabel and Ferdinand refused their assent.

† In this unfortunate engagement more than a thousand Spanish soldiers were slain. In the spring of the following year of 1489, one

The sovereigns now prepared for another campaign. Much had been achieved, but much yet remained to be done. Guadix, Baza, the fertile province of Almeria, and the entire district of the Alpuxarras, famed for its mineral wealth, were still under the sway of El Zagal, who was winning golden opinions from his subjects by the activity which he displayed in the forays that he incessantly made on the Castilian borders. Having penetrated through thick forests and over precipices, into Alcala la Real, he had lately swept away a large booty in flocks and herds. Don Juan de Benavides, Governor of that portion of the frontier, retaliated by an inroad of a similar nature in Almeria.

The Queen having removed to Murcia to await the result of this campaign, the King, at the head of twenty thousand men, in the month of June, advanced into the enemy's territory. The plague that had desolated Andalusia for the last two years, had greatly diminished his resources; but the campaign, though short, was successful, as in the course of less than two months that it lasted, some sixty small towns, villages, and poorly fortified castles, submitted to his sway. The dread inspired by the fate of Malaga, and the liberal terms granted by the policy of Ferdinand, contributed far more than the numerical strength of his army, to bring about the submission of the majority, who thus secured their homes, and were allowed to cultivate their fields unmolested.

thousand horse and two thousand foot were sent, under the command of Don Pedro Sarmiento, Count of Salinas, by Ferdinand, to the assistance of Brittany, but without better success.

Having endeavoured to penetrate to Almeria, Ferdinand met with so great a loss, that he was compelled to postpone this undertaking, until he could bring a larger force into the field. Avoiding a close engagement, El Zagal availing himself of the inequalities of ground with which he was well acquainted, so harassed the enemy as to render a farther advance impossible. It became evident to Ferdinand that until Baza could be subdued, it was vain to attempt anything farther; but as for this undertaking it was indispensable that he should recruit his troops, he returned to Murcia.

During the Queen's residence in Murcia, she was informed that a collector of the royal revenues, while in the discharge of his duty on the territory of the Duke of Alva, had been insulted and beaten by that nobleman's chief Alcalde, and the Alcayde of the fortress of Salvatierra. Contempt of her authority was in the eyes of Isabel the most unpardonable of all crimes. Dissembling her anger that she might satisfy it the better, she secretly dispatched one of her court justices to seize the criminals ere they could be warned of her design. The Alcalde was surprised, and hung on the spot where the outrage had been perpetrated; the Alcayde was brought to Valladolid, there judged, found guilty, and punished with the amputation of a hand, and exile.

From Murcia the King and Queen repaired to Valladolid, to give their attention to the proceedings of the new corregidores. It was enacted that after the term of office of each corregidor, he should be obliged to give

in a strict account of his judicial proceedings during that period. During the term of thirty days assigned them for that purpose, certain doctors of the law were commissioned to make inquiry into their conduct, and if it was found that they had swerved from the course of justice, they were punished according to the offence, and deprived of ever after holding office.

From Valladolid the Court removed, in the spring of 1489, to Jaen, to prepare for the summer campaign. As it was expected that a decisive blow would be struck, the sovereigns had spent the winter in the requisite preparations. Strenuous efforts were necessary to raise an army adequate to the enterprise, for Baza, its main object, was, as it will be seen, no easy conquest. The treasury was completely drained; the money raised by the crusades all expended, and the country nearly exhausted by the number of men levied during this protracted war.

The plague already mentioned, together with the previous campaigns, had reduced the population of the southern provinces to one-fifth of its original number; and it was with the utmost difficulty that an army of twelve thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, was raised.* But the Queen, who was the soul of the war, was untiring in her efforts: and ably seconded by the King, and her inseparable adviser, the Cardinal, she not only succeeded in raising the necessary number of troops, but also in providing for their equipment

* At the siege of Malaga sixty great vassals joined the King's army while at that of Baza fifteen only assisted.

and maintenance. During the course of this arduous campaign, in which reinforcements were required every twenty days, Isabel, whom no obstacles could discourage, obtained a loan of a hundred millions of maravadis, mortgaged the domains of the crown, sold her revenues at ten per cent., and pawned her own jewels and those of the crown to merchants of Valencia and Barcelona. Her punctuality and good faith towards those from whom she borrowed were so well known, that she experienced no difficulty in obtaining loans from private individuals.

The King set out from Jaen in the early part of May, 1489.

The city of Baza, situated on the borders of the little river of the same name, was, by its proximity to the Sierra Nevada—the chain of mountains which traverses longitudinally the kingdom of Granada—enabled to communicate with, and receive supplies from, the sturdy mountaineers of the Alpuxarras, and the inhabitants of Almeria. On the plain, directly in front of the city, were gardens studded with country-seats, which extended over a league; and presented, when viewed from a distance, the aspect of a dense forest. These pleasure-grounds, kept in the highest state of cultivation, intersected in every direction by walls, and a perfect labyrinth of canals for the purpose of irrigation, rendered the use of artillery and cavalry impracticable. Each of the walls was flanked by a strong tower, which had to be won ere a passage could be obtained; and each could sustain a short siege. The fortifications of

the town itself were exceedingly strong; while the alcazar, built on the side of the mountain, was deemed impregnable. Ten thousand men of the *élite* of El Zagal's troops garrisoned the town, which was victualled for fifteen months; while the Moors of the surrounding country were preparing to sustain its inhabitants, and harass the rear of the Christian army.

The first partial engagement with the garrison was favourable to the Christians, who took up a position in the gardens; but on the following day they were expelled from it, and obliged to retreat. In skirmishes, even when they were equal in numerical strength, the Spaniards were always inferior to the Moors; who, unequalled in their own peculiar tactics, retreated in apparent disorder, only to return with incredible velocity and fall unexpectedly on their enemies. Thus, although in the present case infinitely superior to the Spaniards in numbers, their manœuvres and knowledge of the ground gave them great advantages. Many of the council seeing the little hope of progressing, and the difficulties of the enterprise, and apprehensive that the winter might still find the army before Baza, in which case the most disastrous consequences would ensue, advised the King to raise the siege. Ferdinand, undecided how to act, referred the question to the Queen. The answer was prompt. She refused to take upon herself the responsibility of a decision, but clearly expressed her own wishes by adding, that if the King and his council were of opinion that

there was any possibility of continuing the siege, she would undertake to supply the army with money, provisions, and every necessary.

The Queen's reply infused new vigour and hope into all hearts, and the siege was pursued with fresh activity.

During the whole course of the war, the progress made by Ferdinand was chiefly attributable to the indefatigable spirit of Isabel, aided by the cool judgment of the Cardinal, without whose counsels nothing was undertaken. Her promptness in attending to their wants, rendered her the idol of the soldiers. The garrisons placed in the conquered towns could rely implicitly on being furnished by her care with the necessary supplies, while she never allowed them reason to murmur in consequence of arrears in their pay. Wherever she might chance to be residing during the campaigns —and she was never very distant from the scene of action—she kept relays on the road, in order that intelligence might be promptly conveyed to her of all the movements in the camp. With her own hand she frequently wrote to the different nobles in the army; to some expressing her gratitude for past services, to others the hopes she placed in them; and this delicate flattery tended in no small degree to encourage its recipients to bear with patience the toils and perils of the life they led. Nor did she relax her efforts now they were most needed. Exerting herself to the utmost to repair the daily loss of men before Baza, she wrote to all the nobles who had not accompanied the King in this expe-

dition, soliciting reinforcements; and from different cities she obtained military stores, which were promptly forwarded to the camp.

The first step to be taken was the destruction of the pleasure-grounds. Though four thousand pioneers were set to work, it took forty days to effect it, each man clearing but ten paces daily. A large portion of the army was employed to cover the work, the constant sallies of the besieged during this time occasioning a great loss of men to Ferdinand. When the magnificent suburbs of Baza had been despoiled of the beautiful trees that adorned them, and converted into a desolate waste, another still more laborious enterprise remained to be accomplished. It was found necessary, in order to invest the city on all sides, to make a deep trench two leagues in circumference, into which the waters of the adjoining river and springs were made to flow. This trench was bordered on the outside with strong palisades, beyond which were two walls, with a space between them four feet in width; and on these walls, at a distance of three hundred paces from each other, were constructed a number of towers, in which was placed a garrison of three hundred men to overlook the works.

Four months had been spent in these laborious operations, and still their object appeared as distant as when they were commenced. The inhabitants of Baza, confiding in the strength of their fortifications, and still more in the rapidly approaching winter, which, they doubted not, would drive the besiegers back to Jaen, manifested no inclination to surrender.

The Moorish cavaliers, from the ramparts, frequently invited the Spanish knights to single combat, insulting them when the challenge was not accepted; but Ferdinand, to the great annoyance of his young nobles, had strictly interdicted these duels, in which the Moors had generally the advantage over their less skilful adversaries.

The inhabitants of Granada deeply sympathized with their brethren of Baza; but, as in the case of Malaga, their sympathy was productive of no good results to the besieged, for they dared not take an active part in the contest lest their commerce should be interrupted, and their fields laid waste by the invaders. Some of the nobler-minded of the citizens, disdaining to purchase peace and security on such inglorious terms, endeavoured to persuade the people to depose the base tool of the Christians, and to give to Baza the assistance which she needed; but rumours of the conspiracy forming against him having reached Boabdil, he caused its chief promoters to be beheaded. Quiet was thus temporarily restored, though the money regularly furnished to him by Isabel alone enabled him to maintain his authority.

The autumn was now far advanced, and the soldiers of Ferdinand, accustomed at the approach of winter to disband and return to their homes, began to murmur at being compelled to endure, without better shelter than their light tents, the cold night air and the heavy rains. To remedy this evil, the King ordered huts of clay or earth to be constructed for the officers, and others of palisades, thatched with branches, for the

soldiers; and in four days, four thousand of these buildings, in streets regularly laid out, had been erected on the site of the encampment. The new town was amply supplied by Isabel with every necessary, while the free trade encouraged by the King induced merchants from every part of Spain to bring their wares there.

All these preparations had well nigh been rendered useless by one of the violent storms common at that season of the year in that district. A large number of the frail tenements so recently erected were thrown down, a quantity of cattle drowned, and a considerable amount of property destroyed, by the torrents of water that descended from the mountains. The roads were broken up, and rendered impassable; and, in consequence, an unavoidable delay occurring in the arrival of supplies, a scarcity which lasted twenty-four hours went far to increase the murmurs of the soldiers. Nor were their complaints altogether without foundation, for it appeared impossible that they could face the rigours of winter in so exposed a situation.

The Queen, apprised of the recent disasters, with her usual promptitude set about remedying the evils and preventing their recurrence. A corps of six thousand pioneers was set to work to construct bridges and causeways for the space of seven leagues; and, as soon as the communication with the camp was re-established, supplies were constantly sent to the army. At her own cost she ordered fourteen thousand beasts of burden to be hired for the purpose of conveying the

provisions. Corn was bought up in every city where it was to be had, ground, and the meal promptly forwarded to the camp.

While the indefatigable Isabel was taking measures to ensure their ruin, the inhabitants of Baza continued their stout resistance. Though daily engagements had greatly lessened the garrison, and their military stores were well nigh spent, the town was abundantly victualled, and they entertained no thought of surrender. While Isabel pawned her jewels to raise the means of accomplishing the conquest on which her heart was set, the ladies of Baza sacrificed theirs for a far more laudable purpose—they gave them voluntarily to pay the auxiliary troops that were employed in the defence of their native town.

Disheartened and wearied by the length of time the siege had lasted, by the hardships they had endured, and by the sickness which carried off infinitely more victims than the sword, the army urged that the Queen should be sent for. Some hoped that the sight of their sufferings would move her to give up this seemingly desperate enterprise, while others fancied that her presence might have the same effect in inducing the besieged to surrender which it had produced in Malaga.

The Queen, though reiterated entreaties for her presence were sent by Ferdinand, did not readily consent to grace the camp; but finally, with the advice of the Cardinal and others of her council, she set out for Baza, where she arrived on the 7th of November,

accompanied by the Cardinal, Prince Juan, the Infanta Isabel, and several ladies of her Court, together with the members of her council.

What magic the Queen exercised has never been explained, but her presence operated a sudden and singular change, not only in the camp, where it was hailed with great joy, but in the besieged city. The continual firing, and the hourly skirmishes that ceaselessly spread death in the files of both parties, ceased, as by enchantment; and, strangest fact of all, the very Moors who had lately evinced the most patriotic spirit of resistance, now parleyed and proposed a capitulation! This is the account, as given by the chronicler, of the effect produced by the arrival of Isabel; but he assigns no reason for it, leaving the reader to infer, that the mere presence of his fair sovereign was all-sufficient to vanquish the resistance of the citizens. Modern historians, more matter-of-fact and less gallant, may deem that a better reason is to be found in the honours and pecuniary gifts subsequently lavished on the Governor and Commandant of the troops. The latter, the Cidi* Yahia-Alnayar, a nephew of El Zagal, had long interviews with Isabel, during which, it is said, she succeeded in converting him.

Whatever may have been the feminine diplomacy employed by the Queen, she succeeded in attaining her object, and the first service rendered to her by her new tool was the surrender of Baza. The city council refusing to allow of the surrender unless the consent of El Zagal was previously obtained, Mohammed

* Cidi, or Cid, theMoorish term for chief.

Hassan, the Governor, and the Cidi Yahia, the military commander, undertook to obtain it by sending the old monarch an exaggerated report of the condition to which the protracted siege had reduced the city. Their *ruse* succeeded, and the desired consent was conceded.

On the 7th of December the town was given up. The articles of capitulation were, that the auxiliary troops should be allowed to withdraw with their arms, horses, and baggage; and that such of the inhabitants as chose to remain under the sway of the sovereigns, should be allowed to settle in the suburbs on the same terms as the Mudajares, and retain their personal effects.

Though Baza had surrendered much sooner than was expected, its siege had been ruinous to the sovereigns, who had lost twenty thousand men from cold and sickness, as well as by the sword; but Isabel appears to have been imbued with the true spirit of conquest, and to have cared little in reality for the sufferings of her subjects when she was bent on an acquisition. Through her armies she acquired fame, and it is not surprising, therefore, that she should have bestowed so much care upon them, although the fear of occasioning the loss of life appears to have seldom deterred her from persisting in any undertaking.

The Queen's new vassal was most active in his efforts to prove his devotion, and evidences of his success were soon given. Immediately after the capitulation of Baza, the commanders of the majority of the fortified

places in the Alpuxarras sent word to the sovereigns that they were willing to surrender on the same terms, "if they were paid for the outlays they had been at during the war." The proposals were accepted; they were allowed to remain as Mudajares, and liberal gifts were bestowed on the sordid Alcaydes in proportion to the value of the fortresses which they gave up. This new and most base feature of the war was due to the intrigues of the Cidi Yahia.

One Arab chief, the Alcayde of the town and fortress of Purchena, alone remained superior to the venal motives that influenced so many. "I am a Moor, and of Moorish lineage," he replied to the sovereigns who urged him to accept some compensation for the office he resigned; "Alcayde of the town and fortress of Purchena, I come not to sell that which pertains not to me, but to surrender that which fortune has made yours. Believe me, had I not been weakened by the weakness I found in those who should have proved my support, you might, perchance, have purchased the fortress with my death, but not with your gold. But since this may not be, receive, mighty lords, the place I cannot guard against your power: all I ask is the protection of your Majesties for its inhabitants, and those of the adjoining valley, that they may be allowed to dwell in peace and in the exercise of their own creed; for myself, all I need or will accept, is a safe conduct that will enable me to retire to Africa with my soldiers and effects."

The Cidi Yahia, now the avowed pensioner of Isabel, repaired to Guadix, and by his arguments succeeded in

persuading El Zagal voluntarily to give up Guadix and Almeria. With consummate skill, he represented to him the uselessness of attempting to avoid the fate that was evidently reserved to the Moorish possessions in Spain. He dwelt on the folly of resistance when the examples of the strongly-fortified towns of Malaga and Baza testified that they must yield in the end to the overwhelming power of the Christians. He urged him in the name of humanity, and of the duty which he owed to his subjects, to purchase by a prompt submission easy terms of the conqueror, and not to wait until he was compelled to accept such cruel conditions as those imposed on Malaga.

The brave old King listened with imperturbable calm and in silence to his nephew's arguments. "He moved not an eyelid," says the chronicler. After a long pause, heaving a deep sigh, he replied: "Had not Allah himself decreed the fall of Granada, this arm would yet have saved her; His will be done!"

The articles of capitulation of Almeria and Guadix were liberal; they stipulated that the inhabitants should remain in possession of their houses and other property; that they should continue in the exercise of their creed, be judged by their own tribunal, and pay no higher taxes than had hitherto been exacted by their Moorish sovereigns.

When Ferdinand repaired to Almeria to receive its submission, the old monarch came forth to resign his authority to him. When he would have performed the usual act of homage, Ferdinand refused to allow him to humble himself, and treated him with much

courtesy. El Zagal was allowed to retain the town and district of Andarax, the Alpuxarras, the valley of Lecun, situated to the south of Granada, between the Vega and the Alpuxarras, the half of the salt pits of Malcha, and other domains; the whole giving him a revenue of four millions of maravedis: he was also allowed the title of King of Andarax, but was to do homage for his domains to the sovereigns, and to take arms in their cause as their vassal when required.

In accordance with the terms of his secret compact, Boabdil had bound himself to open the gates of Granada to Ferdinand as soon as that monarch should be possessed of Almeria and Guadix. At least, so said Ferdinand, and he now summoned him to fulfil his promise. But the Moorish Prince was either unwilling or unable to perform his compact. Unenviable indeed was his situation; from his palace he could daily hear the curses of the people, who, exasperated at the progress made by the Spanish arms, assembled in crowds under the royal balconies, filling the air with the epithets of parricide, traitor, and renegade, which they applied to the Prince, who felt the strong walls of the Alhambra almost inadequate to shield him from the rage of the populace.

Goaded by the necessity of retrieving some popularity with his subjects, Boabdil not only replied to the summons that he could not surrender the capital, but actually began a war of aggression. With the craft of his nature which would not permit him to perform a brave deed without some admixture of treachery,

the Moorish Prince privately invited the Count of Tendilla, the adelantado of the frontier, to make an incursion into the plains of Granada, under pretence that this would facilitate his surrender of the capital. The Count, confiding in the good faith of the Prince, set out in the depth of winter with but few troops, and was met by Boabdil at the head of his brilliant cavalry, and completely routed. Boabdil re-entered Granada in triumph, saluted by acclamations very different from those which so recently had smote upon his ear.

In the meanwhile, the sovereigns had withdrawn to Seville, having gained in the laborious campaign of 1488 the most unexpected advantages, though at the most enormous cost. On the 4th of January, the troops were disbanded to seek in their homes the repose which they needed after a campaign of many months.

In the spring of the following year, the Ambassador of Portugal arrived in Seville to claim the hand of the Infanta Isabel which had, years before, been promised to Alfonso, the son and heir of Juan II. As Charles VIII. was then soliciting the hand of Ann, daughter and heiress of the late Duke of Brittany, all hopes in that quarter were at an end, and nothing of more consequence offering to gratify the ambitious views which Isabel had formed for this her best-beloved daughter, the proposal of Portugal was accepted. It was also a measure of policy to form a bond of peace with the monarch in whose keeping the Princess Juana still remained.

The betrothals of the Infanta and Don Hernando de

Silveyra, who acted as proxy for the Prince, took place in the month of May of that year (1489), and were celebrated with great splendour, the *fêtes* continuing for the space of a fortnight; during which the King and Queen were at an expense that appears incredible, after reading the accounts left to us of the difficulties which they had so lately experienced in raising funds to defray the expenses of the war. From all parts of Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and Sicily, the nobles flocked in entirely new and magnificent array, to witness and add pomp to the betrothal of their sovereigns' eldest born. The pages of the royal household, numbering one hundred, wore on the occasion new brocade dresses, embroidered with gold and silver. The Queen and the betrothed bride appeared at all the *fêtes* dressed in cloth of gold, and attended by seventy of the noblest ladies in Spain, attired in brocade, and resplendent with jewels. Lists were enclosed outside the city, and at each extremity fifty galleries were erected, hung with hangings of silk tapestry, and covered with awnings richly embroidered with the armorial bearings of the nobles. The King took part in the jousts and greatly distinguished himself.

The nuptials were celebrated in the following November. Preparations on a large scale had been made for the occasion. In addition to the dower assigned to the bride as Infanta of Castile, her parents presented her with five hundred marks of gold and a thousand of silver. The principal articles of the *trousseau* were four costly necklaces of gold set with pearls and

precious stones, together with other jewels of great value; rich tapestries woven of silk and gold; twenty silk and brocade robes; four of drawn golden threads; six of silk, embroidered with pearls and gold; and linen to the amount of twenty thousand florins. The whole of this splendid wardrobe was estimated at one hundred and twenty gold florins.*

At the appointed time, the Cardinal and a number of nobles conducted the Infanta to the frontiers, where she was received by Don Manuel de Viseo,† cousin of the King of Portugal, and many of the chief nobility, by whom the bride was, with such of her train as were to remain with her, escorted to Ebora. Here she was met by the bridegroom and his father, and the nuptials were celebrated with fitting splendour. The Portuguese, in order to compete with the magnificence displayed by the Castilians on this occasion, went, says an old writer, to such an extreme as bespoke their wish to shine greater than their means.

The hostile attitude assumed by Boabdil was as

* Garibay says *two* hundred and twenty thousand.

† The Don Emanuel de Viseo mentioned here, was the son of the Duke of Viseo, a cousin of Juan II., whom that sovereign, suspecting that he was conspiring to dethrone and murder him, stabbed in 1484. Prince Alfonso dying shortly after his marriage, Don Manuel became, to the great regret of Juan, who had now no legitimate sons living, the next heir to the throne of Portugal. From the time of his reception of the Infanta Isabel, the Duke had cherished an ardent passion for his cousin's beautiful bride, to whom, after her husband's death and his own accession, he offered his hand. The fair widow long hesitated, but finally accepted him, to the great joy of her royal parents, who were anxious for the alliance with Portugal.

unexpected as it was vexatious to Ferdinand, who had indulged the hope that the war was ended. The exhausted state of Castile rendered it difficult, if not impossible, to undertake the siege of Granada that year, even had not the King been more inclined to take advantage of the broils in which Charles VIII. was involved, to recover his hereditary provinces of Roussillon and Ampurdan. To obviate, if possible, the necessity of recurring to arms in order to gain Granada, Ferdinand tried the effect of negotiation; and sent to propose to the Moorish Prince, both for himself and his people, new and far more advantageous conditions than those formerly agreed upon. The King's agent found Boabdil on his way to Padul in the valley of Lecrin, and witnessed his conquest of that place. The tenor of his answer may be anticipated.* His point-

* Boabdil, having no longer a rival on the throne, had at length resolved to make a strenuous effort to defend his faith and his nation; and in accordance with this determination, he assembled the chiefs of the Arab tribes, and communicated to them the proposition of the Spanish monarch; bidding them remark that no alternative remained save that of delivering up Granada to the enemy upon the instant, or of defending the city until they made a grave amid its ruins. The reply was immediate and unanimous—each declared that he preferred death to dishonour—and preparations for resistance were forthwith commenced; while so great was the enthusiasm, that a small band of warriors, anxious to take the initiative in measures of oppression, made a sally beyond the walls, and possessed themselves of the fortress of Alhendin, which, although insignificant of itself, commanded one of the approaches to the capital; and by its capture infused new energy in the breasts of the Moors, who, with the ready superstition of hope, looked upon its recovery as an augury of good-fortune. The inhabitants of Alpuxarra rose with one accord against

blank refusal reached Ferdinand on the 10th of May, and excited his anger to such a degree that, forgetting his ordinary prudence, with the few troops that could be mustered immediately, he entered the Moorish territory, and commenced a tala.

This hasty expedition was productive of no benefit to him; for, though he was joined by his new vassals, El Zagal and the Cidi Yahia Alnayar, the one at the head of two hundred horse, and the other of one hundred and fifty, Ferdinand lost many men, and did little damage to the Moors.

The fortress of Isna-Roman fell into the hands of the Christians by means of an artifice of which the chroniclers speak in terms rather of commendation than blame, and of which the reader will judge. The Cidi Yahia, having caused a hundred and fifty Spanish soldiers to assume the Moorish garb, presented himself at the head of this troop before the gates of the fortress, and earnestly entreated instant admission, as he was hotly pursued by a large body of Spanish soldiers. The unsuspicious Alcayde, mistaking the Cid—with whose person he was not acquainted—for a Moorish captain, hastened to grant him the refuge which he sought. The traitor Yahia, having thus surreptitiously effected an entrance, though he had the grace to spare the lives of the thirty men who composed the garrison, ordered them to be disarmed, and escorted

the invaders; and efforts were made in many of the sea-port towns to seize the fortresses which had been garrisoned by the Spaniards.—Ed.

to Granada. The news of this nefarious exploit fairly enraged the inhabitants of the capital, and was productive of the most bitter fruits to El Zagal himself, whose vassals rose on all sides against him. The abhorrence with which he was now looked upon was equal to the high estimation in which his countrymen had formerly held him. The Alfaquis publicly cursed him in the mosques, and he and his partisans were outlawed.

Tired of the shameful part which his compact with the Christians had compelled him to take, the heart-broken old monarch sold his domains to the Queen and the Cid Yahia, and retired from the scenes which, recalling his past grandeur, rendered his present situation doubly wretched. He withdrew to Africa, but fortune was not weary of persecuting him. The barbarous King of Fez, after despoiling him of his wealth, and causing his eyes to be put out, sent him to beg the means of supporting his miserable life, with the following label: "I am the wretched King of Andalusia."*

The little faith observed by Isabel, who, in the face of the articles to the contrary of the capitulations of Almeria and Guadix, had deprived the inhabitants of those towns of their mosques which she consecrated to the service of her own creed, fanned the flame of insurrection which spread through the Alpuxarras and Almeria. It would have reached Guadix, had not timely advice been conveyed by a treacherous Moor to the Marquis of Villena, Governor of that part of the

* His descendants still bear at Oran the title of "the sons of the Sultan of Andalusia."—Ed.

frontier, who took effectual means to ensure quiet in the city. To the south of the Sierra Nevada, Boabdil was universally ackowledged.

Ferdinand, who had returned with the royal family to Cordova, informed of the progress of the Moorish Prince, who had laid siege to several places, and taken them, immediately collected an army of thirty thousand men, and in the month of July, compelled his adversary to take refuge in his capital. The inhabitants of Almeria, Baza, and Guadix were expelled from their homes to punish their defection; but such as chose to settle in the suburbs were allowed to remain there as Mudejares. Many withdrew to Africa.

Considering that so long as the capital remained in the possession of Boabdil, their new conquests would be very insecure, the sovereigns determined to make a strong effort to possess themselves of it; and having succeeded in collecting an army of fifty thousand men, Ferdinand commenced, in the month of April, the campaign of 1491.

Though Boabdil had been compelled to retreat to his capital, his situation was far preferable to what it had been previous to his last expedition: he had now secured the co-operation of the inhabitants of the Alpuxarras, whose revolt Ferdinand had not dared to attempt to quell. Protected on the eastern side by the ragged Sierra Nevada, and on that which faced its fertile vega by towers and walls of massive solidity, Granada, in itself, was inexpugnable, and could only be reduced by famine: consequently, the supplies abundantly furnished by the fertile valleys of the

Alpuxarras were of inestimable importance to its numerous inhabitants.

Granada could, in ordinary times, furnish its monarchs with an army of seventy thousand warriors: and increased as its population was now, by the receding tide from the conquered towns, it amounted to upwards of two hundred thousand souls. But, though this increase could add no strength to the city, it was likely, in case of a blockade, to accelerate a famine; and it was probably on this fact that Ferdinand calculated when, after an extensive foray in the plain, he pitched his camp within two leagues of Granada, at a placed called Ojos de Huescar.

For several weeks no important engagement took place, although skirmishes between detached parties of Spanish knights and Moorish cavaliers who sallied from the city, occurred daily. Aware of the folly of attempting any assault, and taught by experience that his best plan was to weary the patience of his improvident and fickle adversaries, Ferdinand made preparations for remaining some time where he had taken up his position; and, before the arrival of Isabel and her children, who reached the camp towards the end of May, the tents of the soldiers had disappeared, to make way for light wooden barracks.

The Queen, who was, as usual, hailed on her arrival with joyful acclamations, neglected none of the seductions so potent with the gallant and enthusiastic nation which she governed. Attired in a complete suit of armour, and mounted on a splendidly caparisoned steed, she rode through the ranks of the delighted

soldiers, or visited them at their quarters, addressing to them words of comfort and encouragement, which, coming as they did from the lips of an idolized Queen, could not but nerve their hearts to the endurance of every ill, and the daring of every peril.

The Queen having expressed a desire to obtain a nearer view of the world-renowned red towers of the Alhambra, the whole of the Spanish cavalry, under the command of the Duke of Escalona, the Count of Ureña, Don Alfonso de Aguilar, the Counts of Cabra and Tendilla, and the Lord of Alcaudete, escorted her and the Infanta Juana, on the 18th of June, to the village of La Zubia, situated at so short a distance from Granada that, from the roof of one of its houses, she could easily gratify her wish.

The Queen's curiosity had, however, well nigh cost her dear; for a large body of Moors, deeming this an insolent bravado, suddenly sallied from Granada, and fell on the Spanish horse with such fury as to throw them into a disorder that would have proved fatal, had not the Marquis-Duc of Cadiz, hastening to the rescue with twelve hundred lances, by his brilliant charge made a diversion which enabled that corps to recover itself. The Moorish infantry, composed of the refuse of the population, imagining that the whole Christian army was upon them, took to flight, thereby impeding the movements of the Arabian cavaliers, and finally compelling them to retreat; upon which the Spaniards, perceiving their advantage, hotly pursued their foes to the very gates of Granada. This engagement, which in the onset appeared fraught with such

peril to the Queen, resulted in a great loss to the Moors, of whom six hundred were killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. During the conflict, Isabel, struck with terror, remained on her knees in prayer; during which she made a vow, that should Heaven avert the danger, she would erect a monastery on the spot where it had occurred. The chroniclers do not mention the loss of the Christians.

About a month subsequently, an accident occurred which again endangered the Queen's life, as well as those of others. Isabel was lodged in a magnificent tent, belonging to the Marquis of Cadiz. On the night of the 14th of July, having retired to her couch, she bade one of the ladies in waiting remove a candle from one part of the tent to another, as the light, flashing in her eyes, prevented her from sleeping. In obeying the order, the lady placed the candle so near the hangings, that they caught fire, and the tent was soon in a blaze, which rapidly communicated itself to the adjoining tents, and thence to the barracks, built of light, combustible wood. Even the sentinels were asleep; and though the Queen and her children, who occupied tents adjoining her own, were rescued unhurt, she lost the whole of her valuable wardrobe. Ferdinand, suddenly roused from his slumbers, imagining that the noise was occasioned by a surprise of the enemy, seized his arms, and rushed out to rally the troops. Having ascertained the cause of the tumult, and that the Queen was safe, while a portion of the soldiers were employed in subduing the flames, the

King, at the head of some troops, watched during the remainder of the night, lest the enemy should take advantage of the confusion, to fall upon the camp; but no such attempt was made.*

In order to guard against a recurrence of the accident, as well as to provide suitable winter quarters for his army should the siege be protracted, and at the same time to prove to the enemy his determination to persevere until he should have become master of the capital, the King set his soldiers to work, and in the space of three months, substantial buildings of stone and mortar, covered with tiles, had replaced the former frail constructions; streets regularly laid out, and handsome squares formed a city, to which, in honour of the Queen, it was proposed that her name should be given. But Isabel, declining the compliment, substituted that of Santa Fé, in honour of that Holy Faith which was the avowed object and motive of the war that she was waging ;† and the new city was soon

* This month proved prolific in disasters. A few hours before the fire occurred which destroyed the camp near Granada, Prince Alfonso, the only legitimate son of the King of Portugal, was thrown from his horse and killed, near Santarem, in Portugal. His widowed Princess, Isabel, returned to Castile in a litter hung with black, within eight months after she had left it a brilliant bride in all the pomp and splendour that could be displayed by two gallant Courts. Within a few days of these accidents, a fire broke out in Medina at the time the annual fair was held there, which destroyed several hundred houses, and a great amount of other property.

† The determination of the Spanish sovereigns to possess themselves of the Moorish capital at whatever cost of life and treasure, was so well known, and so strenuously encouraged by the Romish

thronged with traders, who supplied it not only with every necessary of life, but also with every luxury.

Great was the amazement of the inhabitants of Granada when, on their own territory, before their eyes, almost at their very gates, they beheld the new city rising. Already weary of being cooped up within their walls, their supplies greatly reduced by the vigilance of the Spaniards, who cut off their communications with the surrounding district and ravaged their fertile vega, this proof of the enemy's determination completely disheartened them. Murmurs were rife also among the citizens against their Prince, whom they suspected of being in league with the Christians. Thus situated between two dangers—regarded with distrust by his people within, and threatened by the enemy without, Boabdil, who had exhausted in his last bold struggle, the little energy in his nature, eagerly availed himself of the symptoms of restlessness and disaffection evinced by the people as a pretence for negotiating with the sovereigns.

Ferdinand had no intention of remaining the whole winter before Granada: he proposed to fortify and victual Santa Fé, which, garrisoned by chosen troops, would, he thought, prove an effectual check on the movements of the Moors, until he could return at the head of an army more adequate to movements of importance; and great was, consequently, the surprise of

priesthood, that the confessor of Isabel, Father Hernando de Talavera, when he was upon several occasions urged by his royal mistress to accept the different bishoprics which were in her gift, constantly replied: "Madam, I will hold no See but that of Granada."—Ed.

the sovereigns, when a message arrived from Boabdil to solicit a truce during which negotiations for a surrender might be carried on. The wish of the Moorish Prince was readily granted, and a truce of seventy days agreed upon. The agents of the negotiation, which remained a secret to the people, were, on the part of Isabel and Ferdinand, Gonzalo of Cordova, afterwards so renowned for his military talents, but then chiefly esteemed for his thorough knowledge of the language and customs of the Moors, and Fernando de Zafra, Secretary of the Royal Council; on the part of Boabdil, the Viziers Yousef Aben Comixa and Abel Casim Abdelmelek. The conferences took place during the night, and great precautions were taken to prevent the citizens from any knowledge of their tenor; for, discontented and weary though they were, they would not yet patiently listen to the proposal of surrender.

At the end of thirty days, the following terms of capitulation had been drawn up. The inhabitants, who were willing to submit to the sway of their Christian Majesties, Isabel and Ferdinand, were to be allowed to retain their religion, laws, tribunals, and magistrates; they were to keep their mosques, to wear the Moorish garb, and to be deprived of no property of any description save their artillery and fire-arms, which they were to deliver up; they were to be allowed to dwell unmolested in Granada, or to travel for business or pleasure to any part of their Majesties' dominions; they were to be considered under the especial protection of the sovereigns; they were to pay no higher

taxes than they had hitherto paid to their Moorish sovereigns; such of the inhabitants as chose to remove to Africa in the course of the following three years, were to be sent there at the expense of the sovereigns; those who chose to dwell in Africa were not therefore compelled to dispose of their estates in Granada, but were entitled to the receipts of the income derivable from them, and to govern them through an agent; all prisoners of war, and such of the inhabitants of Granada as had been made slaves, were to be immediately released; renegades and their children were to enjoy the same privileges and immunities as the Moors; and the territory of Granada was to be an inviolable asylum for all Moorish slaves born in Castile or Aragon, who effected their escape thither. The principal stipulation on the part of the sovereigns was, that the artillery and all fire-arms should be delivered up by the Moors.

Five hundred hostages, chosen from among the chief citizens of Granada, were pledges for the execution of the treaty. The capitulation of Granada was the last document signed, according to the time-honoured form, by the high vassals of Castile; thenceforward the Queen dispensed with their signatures, all deeds bearing her own and that of her husband only.*

* According to the antique custom, the signatures of every member of the royal family as well as those of a certain number of the high vassals of the Crown, were always appended after those of the sovereign and his consort, to all deeds and documents. This was called *privilege rodado*.

[When

The ease with which the Moors resigned their capital, almost without attempting to defend it, possessed as they were of inestimable advantages over an enemy whose resources were completely exhausted, would appear incredible, did we not find a solution of the mystery in the character of that brave, brilliant, and enlightened, but fickle and unstable people. Creatures of impulse, they were generous, magnanimous, and loyal, by fits; but infirm of purpose, inconstant, and impressionable, no kindness could long bind them; and treachery, ingratitude, and cruelty, not unfrequently resulted from their love of change.

The treaty assigned large domains erected into a principality, to Boabdil; who was compelled by the threatening symptoms of agitation manifested by his subjects to anticipate the term fixed for giving up the fortresses, lest an insurrection should render his goodwill nugatory, and deprive him of the benefits secured to him by the treaty.

On the 2nd day of January, of the year 1492, Isabel obtained the prize for which she had sacrificed so

When the terms dictated by Ferdinand were communicated to the Moorish council, Muza, the brave brother of the King, endeavoured in vain to rouse the chiefs once more to resistance. Their energies were paralyzed, and no answering spirit seconded his appeal. For a moment he stood in the centre of the hall, and gazed eagerly upon the drooping heads about him: not an eye was raised to his; not a whisper broke the silence of the assembly; and when he had assured himself that all hope was over, the doughty warrior strode out of the hall, cast his armour upon his war-horse, and left the city by the Elvira gate. Where he concealed his wounded pride was not known, as he never reappeared in Granada.—Ed.

much blood and expended so much treasure. On the preceding evening orders had been given, and preparations made, to render the ceremony of taking possession of the last bulwark of Islam in Spain, as brilliant and imposing as possible. On the eventful day the sovereigns and their Court, throwing off the mourning which had been assumed for the untimely death of Prince Alfonso of Portugal, arrayed themselves in costly suits of silk and brocade. The Court and the army having proceeded to within half a mile of Granada, halted there; the troops were drawn out in line of battle; and all anxiously awaited the uplifting of the cross and banners of Castile and Santiago on the red towers of the Alhambra. That office had been intrusted to the Cardinal of Spain, who, at the head of a strong detachment, had been sent forward for that purpose.*

Here the sovereigns were met by the hapless King of the Moors, who, advancing towards Ferdinand, would have performed the usual act of homage had not the Spanish monarch, with his wonted courtesy, hastened to prevent him from alighting. The Queen having also declined the act of homage proffered to her, the Moorish Prince remitted to the King the silver keys of the Alhambra, saying: "High and Mighty Lord, we tender thee, as thy vassal, the keys of our citadel, and with them resign all claim to our kingdom: it is the will of Allah! We rely on thy clemency, and believe thou wilt use thy conquest with

* Several authors say the Count of Tendilla was the one who, at the head of three thousand horse, and as many foot soldiers, was sent to raise the cross and banners on the towers of Granada.

moderation." Ferdinand immediately gave the keys to Isabel, who handed them to Prince Juan, by whom they were transferred to the Count of Tendilla, thereby investing him with the office of Governor of the city. In accordance with an article to that effect in the treaty, the son of Boabdil, who had remained as a hostage in the hands of the Spaniards since the treaty of Cordova, was now given up to his father. The meeting between the parent and child, after so long a separation, was very affecting.

The dethroned monarch, with his son and attendants, then spurred onwards towards his destination, but on reaching the last spot from whence he could perceive the towers of Granada, he paused, turned, and gazed on them for a few moments with streaming eyes. Heaving a deep sigh, the Prince once more resumed his route. The spot where he bade this silent but eloquent farewell to his lost kingdom was named from that day, *El ultimo suspiro del Moro*,—(The Moor's last sigh.) The fatal cause of the ruin of Granada, that of its monarch and his dynasty, the Sultana Aïscha, had preceded her son with his most valuable effects; and upon being overtaken by one of his attendants, she inquired of him why his master tarried, and how he was employed: "He weeps," was the reply. "It befits him well to weep like a woman, for that which he could not defend like a man," exclaimed the haughty Sultana.

When his mother's unfeeling words were reported to Boabdil, "Had she but spoken thus to me in Granada, I would have buried myself in its ruins rather than have surrendered," replied the miserable Prince. Like

his uncle, El Zagal, Boabdil could not long endure to remain as a vassal, where he so lately had reigned as a sovereign, and he soon afterwards retired to Fez. Strange to say, the Prince who lost his kingdom, if not through pusillanimity, at least through want of energy, afterwards died in battle while defending the cause of another Prince, his relative!

The fourteen gates of Granada being now in the hands of the Christians, the Cardinal proceeded at the head of his troops to fulfil the glorious mission assigned to him. As the Spaniards wended their way through the solitary and deserted streets, the clang of their own arms and the measured tread of their own feet were the only sounds that broke the silence. Stupified with grief, the Moors in the retirement of their private apartments shunned the sight of their conquerors. Sorrow had banished curiosity; and not even a child's head appeared at the balconies to gaze at the scene of triumph enacted below. A dead calm testified to the bitterness of soul with which they passed under the sway of their new sovereigns.

At length the large silver cross borne before Ferdinand throughout his campaigns, and the banners of Castile and Santiago waved from the lofty tower of Comares in the Alhambra, and the heralds in a loud voice shouted thrice: "Granada, Granada for King Fernando and Queen Isabel!" The cross and banners were no sooner perceived by the sovereigns and their host than with one accord they fell upon their knees, and the singers of the Royal Chapel immediately

commenced a solemn Te Deum. The joy of this triumph was so great that every eye shed tears. The nobles then kissed the hand of Isabel as Queen of Granada.

Thus after nearly eight centuries of struggle had the Spaniards succeeded in recovering every inch of the land usurped from their fathers by the Saracens. Unfortunately the glory of the conquest was defaced by the want of good faith, and the little generosity which they observed towards their humbled foes.

A proclamation had been made that none should presume to enter Granada until their Majesties should have done so. Curiosity proving stronger than fear with a young noble, son of Don Gonzalez de Avila, he transgressed the King's command, and, accompanied by some of his attendants, visited the city. Indignant at this violation of the royal orders, the sovereigns condemned him to death, but, taking into consideration the many services which he had rendered them, they subsequently pardoned him.

The sovereigns remained in Granada until May, during which time they took every precaution which they believed likely to insure the quiet possession of their new acquisition.

All Spain, with the exception of the little kingdom of Navarre, now acknowledged the rule of Isabel and Ferdinand. Ambassadors were sent to notify the late important conquest to the Courts of the Christian Princes of Europe, and everywhere the tidings were received with tokens of satisfaction. The pontiff cele-

brated with solemn processions and rejoicings which lasted several days, the final triumph of the Cross over the Crescent; and it was natural amid the general exultation to expect that Isabel herself would signalize by some great act the complete success which had attended her arms—that the realization of her most sanguine expectations would have softened her heart, and inspired her with liberality and clemency. Enough blood had flowed—enough misery had been endured—she could now afford to be just at least, if not generous; such a course was dictated by policy as well as humanity, and the vast increase of her power allowed full scope for the indulgence of the gentle and kindly feelings with which her biographers tell us her heart was filled. The memory of Isabel has been loaded with panegyrics, let her deeds decide how well they were bestowed.

It was during this residence of Isabel in Granada, that some of the chief events of her reign took place. It was while there, and immediately after its conquest, that, by granting the application of the adventurous Genoese, she added a world to her dominions; there also, by the signature of the edict for the expulsion of the Jews, she added another blot to darken her fame. In the month of March of that memorable year, was issued the decree by which all professing the Jewish creed were ordered to leave the dominions of Ferdinand and Isabel within four months. They were permitted to sell their property, and to take with them the proceeds in bills of exchange or merchandise not prohibited in Castile; but this apparent concession was in reality

a mockery, for, as they lost all claim or title to the houses and lands not disposed of within the stipulated period for their departure, they were compelled to sell them for the merest trifle, so that we are told that "a house was given for an ass, and a vineyard for a piece of cloth." Nor was this all: the proceeds of the sale of their property, small as they were rendered by the disadvantageous terms on which it was disposed of, were not unfrequently entirely lost to the hapless owners by the difficulty they found in obtaining bills of exchange, the edict prohibiting their conveying either gold or silver out of the kingdom. Commerce, in its then very limited bounds, afforded them but little assistance, and the majority lost their all.

Hitherto, however inhuman some of Isabel's measures may have appeared, plausible reasons can be assigned for them. The war against Granada, commenced and pursued on insufficient, nay, even frivolous, grounds, while it renders extremely problematical the character of humanity so universally ascribed to the Queen by her biographers, adds, rather than detracts, to that which she deservedly acquired for political ability. We will not discuss the claim which the descendants of the Goths then laid to the disputed territory; for, if length of time constituted right, that of the Saracens, who had held it during several centuries, was better than that alleged by those whose forefathers had possessed it but three centuries when they were dispossessed. The best claim of the Spaniards consisted in the fact that the northern conquerors, from whom they partly drew their origin, had become blended with the

aboriginal inhabitants, and that one religion, one language, and the same manners and customs had become common to all; whereas, the differences between the Moors and the Spaniards could never be reconciled so that both nations should form but one family.

However unsatisfactory the motives may appear for the long contest which the Queen so perseveringly maintained, many arguments, drawn from the character of the nation that she governed, and the opinions of the age in which she lived, might be adduced to justify her, even were it not fully proved that to her passion for aggrandizement every other feeling was subservient. But, for her present act, the barbarous ejectment from their homes of a numerous people, who had ever proved themselves loyal subjects of the sovereigns of Spain; an expulsion resulting, as it was easy to forsee, in the total ruin of all, and in the death of a large proportion of the sufferers, what apology can be urged? The only plea that has been offered is excess of bigotry; and yet even for this sorry excuse there is scarcely sufficient foundation.

Isabel, if not a woman of genius, was one endowed with superior talents, and was as little inclined to allow her religious feelings to bias her to the prejudice of her interests as was even the conveniently devout Louis XI. We can unfortunately trace this infamous decree to none but sordid motives, though its intolerant folly proves that the Queen was clear-sighted to perceive present advantages, but was egregiously blind to the consequences it entailed on the future prosperity of Spain.

Commerce and all the mechanical arts were pursued by the Moors and Jews only, the Spaniards looking with supreme contempt on all but the science of arms, and the study of *belles-lettres;* and thus the edict that drove from Spain those useful and industrious people, while it filled the royal coffers, destroyed the chief sources of its wealth.

Such of the proscribed race as chose to accept the proffered alternative and become converts to the Christain faith, were permitted to remain; but comparatively few did so, the majority preferring exile, involving ruin, misery, and death, to the hypocritical adoption of a creed which these coercive measures taught them to look upon with abhorrence. Their heroic constancy won no sympathy from contemporary writers, who termed it hardheartedness and unpardonable obduracy; and no esteem from the nations among whom this hapless people sought a refuge; for bigotry had closed every avenue to charity in the hearts of the Christian oppressors. The number of the Israelites thus ejected is very differently given by the several historians of that period, and amid the discrepancies of their accounts it is impossible to arrive at any very exact conclusion. Some make the whole number amount to four hundred thousand souls; others double it; others again say there were seventy thousand families; and this number we find again reduced to thirty-five thousand.

In April another edict was issued by Torquemada, the chief Inquisitor, the tenor of which was that at the expiration of the four months all intercourse with the

Jews was interdicted to the Christians, who were forbidden, under pain of incurring certain severe penalties, from affording them countenance, shelter, or assistance of any description.

The measure adopted by the Queen was so exceedingly impolitic that even her Christian subjects endeavoured to dissuade her from its execution. The Jews themselves no sooner became aware of the matter in discussion before the council, than they made every effort to avert the blow that threatened them. They deputed their chief men to render to the sovereigns a propitiatory offering of thirty thousand ducats to assist in defraying the expenses of the late war. The bribe was tempting, and Ferdinand and Isabel were hesitating whether it would not be better to accept this large sum and defer the final blow until another opportunity, when the Inquisitor-General, abruptly entering the apartment where the negotiation between the sovereigns and the Jewish deputies was carried on, drew from his bosom a crucifix, saying: "Judas Iscariot sold the Saviour for thirty pieces of silver; your Highnesses are now selling him for thirty thousand. Behold him here—take him and barter him as you will;" and with unfeigned indignation the insane fanatic threw the holy symbol on the table, and withdrew. The monk's insolent demeanour decided the matter—religious zeal lent its weight on the side of interest, and the petition was rejected.

The pen refuses itself to the task of pourtraying the scenes which ensued. The weak, the sick, those ren-

dered helpless from infancy or old age, all were alike driven forth. Many who had been cradled in the lap of luxurious plenty, totally unfitted to endure the hardships which this compulsory journey entailed, sank down on the wayside to expire, while the hand of Christian charity was restrained from conveying the alms of a cup of water to the parched lips of the dying. Mothers and their new-born infants succumbed to the pangs of hunger, which increasing the horrors of this dreadful journey, brought down even the strong man. Almost every country of Europe received some of the fugitives, but the sufferings of those who sought refuge in Africa, surpassed all they had endured on the road. Despoiled of every article of property, even to the very clothing that they wore, by the cruel African Moors, they were left to perish of destitution. Many who were suspected of having swallowed their precious stones were ripped open in search of them. We gladly turn from the sickening recital of these atrocities to a brighter page of history.

To enter into a detailed account of the successful discoverer of the New World would be superfluous—every particular concerning him is too well known, and has been too well narrated, to render another attempt aught but a tame repetition of an oft-told tale. That the Spaniards were not indifferent to maritime enterprises is evidenced by the tenacity with which they contended, in the very beginning of the reign of Isabel, with the Portuguese for the right of discovery and commerce on the coast of Africa; and also by the

perseverance manifested, not only by the Government, but by private individuals, in the conquest of the Canaries.

On the first application of Columbus to the Court of Spain, in 1486, the resources as well as the attention of the sovereigns were too much engrossed by the Moorish war to permit them to afford the means requisite for the prosecution of his scheme, even had not its new and startling nature caused them to hesitate; but when the surrender of Granada left the Queen more leisure, she was soon induced by the Cardinal and others to give a favourable hearing to the renewed proposal, and finally agreed to facilitate the execution of the project. Ferdinand's positive refusal to further the enterprise has left all the credit of it to the Queen, who is said to have expressed herself willing to pawn her jewels to obtain the means of adding this new gem to her Castilian crown, rather than run the risk of seeing another sovereign its possessor.

We are inclined to suspect some little exaggeration in this expression of her anxiety, inasmuch as the jewels in question had but recently been pawned, and could not as yet have been redeemed.* That Isabel could have no idea of the magnitude of the expected results,

* In the archives of Salamanca are still to be seen the deeds relative to the ransom of the jewels mortgaged in Valencia, (at the time of the siege of Baza), by which it appears that that city had loaned to the Queen sixty thousand florins, of which twenty-five thousand were loaned on the Queen's crown, and twenty thousand on her rich necklace of rubies. In the year 1495, a fourth part of the debt was still due.

or comprehension of the calculation of the intrepid mariner, is evinced by the paucity of the means she furnished to carry them out; for, however reduced might be the exchequer at that period, a far greater sum might have been raised had she been willing to risk it. Still, though distrusting the probability of success—and for this she was surely excusable—she was unwilling to lose even an uncertain prospect of realizing the brilliant hopes held out to her. Three small vessels, one of which was furnished and equipped by the Cardinal, and two by the Queen, were granted to the path-finder of a world, to give which inconsiderable aid she borrowed seventeen thousand ducats; and the little fleet sailed from the small port of Palos, in Andalusia, in April, 1492.*

Ere the Queen left her new kingdom to return to Castile, the seeds of rebellion were sown among the vanquished Moors, who, disgusted with the little faith observed towards them, soon evinced tokens of the dissatisfaction that subsequently led them to struggle so violently, and during so long a period, against the authority of the Spanish sovereigns. The faith of Islam had in Spain received its death-blow, but the convulsions of its agony lasted longer than the reign of

* Other authorities assert that Louis de Santangel, the receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Aragon, advanced the sum necessary to equip the expedition; and that two of the vessels were furnished by the town of Palos, which having fallen under the displeasure of Isabel, was condemned as a fine to provide two efficient caravels for the service of Columbus.—Ed.

its destroyer, protracted more by the injudicious policy that was adopted towards its followers than by any innate spirit of resistance. The King and Queen, after their first visit to Granada, having taken such measures as they deemed necessary to prevent any outbreak, had returned to Santa Fé, leaving the inhabitants of Granada completely satisfied by the reiterated assurances they had received from their Majesties, of protection and justice.

No sooner were the sovereigns gone, than the Count of Tendilla announced to the amazed citizens, that the post of Alguazil Mayor, chief magistrate, had been given by the Queen to the Cid Yahia, called, since his recent conversion, by his Christian name of Don Pedro de Granada. This appointment was not only a galling insult to the Moors, but also a direct infringement of one of the articles of capitulation which especially excluded this renegade, and every other follower of El Zagal, from being promoted to the exercise of authority over the Moors of Granada. The nobles and chief officers of the Spanish army were quartered in the finest houses of the Alcazaba, inhabited by the wealthiest citizens of Granada, who gave them up without open resistance, but with a silent determination to seize the first opportunity that offered of retaliation. The Moors, seeing plainly what they were to expect, resolved to follow the example of deceit set them, and the first symptoms appeared in the small quantity of arms that, in accordance with the treaty of surrender, was given up by them, the remainder having been carefully secreted.

On the 5th of July, the day upon which the sovereigns made their solemn *entrée* into Granada, they took possession of the Attaybin, the chief mosque, and ordered it to be consecrated under the name of St. Juan de Los Reyes to their own worship. Numberless were the infringements of the treaty that followed; and silently, but carefully, were they taken note of by the Moors as they patiently waited for the day of vengeance.*

Some of the members of the Council, whose religious zeal exceeded their understanding, proposed that the inhabitants of Granada should be compelled to receive the sacrament of baptism, or to sell their property and emigrate. The Queen had manifested herself greatly inclined to adopt this course, when it found an unexpected opponent in the Inquisitor-General, Torquemada, he who had so strenuously advocated this measure when it concerned the Jews. The Queen was influenced by her belief that compulsory conversions, if they did not benefit the parents, had at least a salutary influence on their children.

Torquemada, like the generality of his countrymen, was disposed to regard the Moors with far more indulgence than the Jews, for the followers of Mahomet

* The city was, immediately after the formal entry of its new masters, erected into an Archiepiscopal See, and the Queen's confessor at length found himself possessed of the high dignity, which he had so long coveted; while the exultation of the Sovereign Pontiff at this signal triumph over the Infidels was so great, that in writing to congratulate Ferdinand on so glorious an achievement, he addressed him as *Regi Hispaniarum Catholico*, since which period the appellation of Catholic Majesty has been borne by all his successors.—Ed.

seldom incurred the fault of endeavouring to make converts; while they were also far more sincere when they adopted the Christian creed than the Israelites. Many other reasons might be adduced to explain the especial odium with which this marked race was looked upon in Spain; but as they were the same well-known characteristics that brought them into such disfavour in other countries, it is needless to repeat them here. The inquisitor, taught by the experience which his fearful functions had given him, argued that such a wholesale conversion would but make apostates, perpetuating through long generations the sacrilegious hypocrisy; and render the evil the more enduring from the very secrecy that precluded its cure. The Queen, if she were not sufficiently convinced by the reasoning of the inquisitor entirely to discard the idea, was induced, by the impossibility of executing it, to delay making the attempt until a better opportunity should offer.

The submission of Granada was too recent to bear so severe a test, and religious zeal was likely to exasperate its citizens to exertions which the love of country had failed to induce. Other considerations also rendered the time unpropitious for such a trial. Castile was exhausted, and could not furnish an army capable of checking the numerous population of Moors that still inhabited Granada and its territory, had they risen on all sides; while the recent expulsion of more than half a million of the most loyal and industrious of her subjects, scarcely permitted her to think seriously of now expelling a million others.

From Granada Isabel and Ferdinand proceeded to Seville, and thence, shortly afterwards, to Aragon. Their progress was like a triumphal procession, the citizens of the towns they approached sallying forth to greet them with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy and affection, "seemingly regarding these favourites of fortune as beings more than human."

After a short stay in Borja and Saragossa, the sovereigns, in October, proceeded to Barcelona, where an event occurred which had nearly brought to a fatal termination the hitherto prosperous career of Ferdinand.

On the 7th of December, the King having, according to custom, presided at the public audience, held chiefly for the benefit of the poorer classes, whose means were inadequate to carrying on a litigation according to the usual forms, had prolonged the hearing of the causes somewhat beyond the usual time. As he was leaving the hall of audience, a man, darting from a recess, struck him in the back of the neck with a knife, or short sword. A gold collar, which the King usually wore, impeding the full force of the blow, saved his life, as the weapon, encountering this ornament, was slightly turned aside, and instead of severing the head from the shoulders as the assassin had intended, inflicted a deep, but not fatal wound.

Ferdinand, bewildered, and nearly stunned by the suddenness of the attack, attempted to draw his sword, crying: "Holy Mary! treason! treason! What treason is this?" under the momentary impression

that it was the result of a preconcerted plan among his attendants. Perceiving, however, that far from abetting the assassin, his attendants had seized him, and were about to despatch him with their daggers, the King had the presence of mind to order them to desist, and to secure him alive, that he might be enabled to ascertain who were his instigators or accomplices. The whole incident passed in far less time than the recital occupies, and, exhausted by loss of blood, the King fainted, and was carried to the royal residence.

This bold attempt on his Majesty's life created great excitement, the indignation of the citizens of Barcelona being increased by the knowledge that their former animosity to Ferdinand would cause the deed to be imputed to themselves; and it was with great difficulty that they were prevented from wreaking instant vengeance on the perpetrator. An immense crowd assembled under the balconies of the palace, vociferously requesting to see the King, whom they could not be persuaded was still alive, but the physicians not deeming it safe for their royal patient to show himself at the windows, the multitude was at length persuaded to disperse. The alarm and grief of the Queen at the news of the catastrophe, deprived her for a time of her senses. On recovering from her swoon, a thousand fears assailed her. Remembering the long and bitter antipathy which the Catalans had once borne to her husband, she naturally deemed that the blow came from that quarter; and anxious to ensure her own

safety, and that of her children, she gave orders that the captain of the port should hold a vessel in readiness for the escape of the royal family.

The indignation manifested by the citizens, of every rank and station, soon, however, reassured her on that score; and it was ascertained that the assassin, who had received three wounds ere the King could interpose to rescue him from his angry attendants, was a Catalan peasant, called Juan Cañamares, sixty years of age, and of that wretchedly-oppressed class, termed vasallos de Remenza, whom the King's interference had lately rescued from the bondage in which they were held by their feudal lords. It was also clearly proved that he was insane, and labouring under the delusion that he was the legitimate heir to the crown, and that Ferdinand kept him out of his rights; which, however, he offered to relinquish on condition of being released. The plea of insanity was not in those days so successful, as it has lately become, to screen crime of every hue from deserved punishment, and the wretch was sentenced to perish in torments too dreadful for description. Through the merciful intervention of Isabel, however, he was first strangled, and thus spared the tortures and mutilations ordered by the law.

During the three weeks that the King was confined by his wound, the Queen was unremitting in her attentions to him, and fully proved the affectionate regard she entertained through the whole course of her life for her husband. She seldom left his couch, and from her hands he received all the potions prescribed to

him; but that, amid the anxious care which the situation, at one time exceedingly critical, of Ferdinand called forth, the ruling passion continued to assert its sway on the mind of Isabel, is manifested in a letter to her confessor, in which, after speaking in terms of the fondest affection of the King, and describing the wound, and the danger he was in from the fever that it produced on the seventh day, she says, speaking of her newly-conquered kingdom of Granada: "All other considerations of things regarding myself are of secondary importance when compared with that city, held by me dearer than life. When the news of the event was brought to me, I had no care or thought of myself or of my children, who were present; but all my anxiety was for that city, and I immediately caused letters to be written to you. Nor do I desire your presence until it shall please God that we ourselves shall be allowed to go there."*

The sovereigns were still in Barcelona when Columbus returned from his first voyage. He reached that city towards the middle of April, bringing with him a quantity of gold and silver, various other productions of the regions he had discovered, and several Indians. He was received with honours worthy of the glorious

* The large Moorish population of Granada, which exceeded forty thousand householders, according to Bermudez (cap. 102), rendered its tranquillity a point of paramount importance; and as the Archbishop was one of the two individuals to whom the Queen had left the government of that capital, it was natural she should write to him warning him to prevent any advantage being taken of the confusion which the news of the King's danger or death was likely to produce.

result of his enterprise, and such as in Spain had never before been paid to one of his birth and station. The nobles of the Court, and the city authorities, met him beyond the gates, and escorted him to the presence of the sovereigns, who, with the Crown Prince, were seated under a magnificent canopy in expectation of his arrival. He was admitted to kiss the royal hands, and to occupy a seat beside those of the Royal Family. At the request of his patroness, he then related his adventures, to which all present lent delighted ears. At the close of the wondrous narrative, the sovereigns and their Court knelt in thanksgiving to Heaven, while the singers of the Royal Chapel raised their voices in a solemn *Te Deum*. Honours and rewards of a more substantial kind were showered on the fortunate navigator. The promised title of Admiral was bestowed on him, and he rode on the King's right hand. A handsome sum of money was also presented to him.

Towards the end of May, 1493, Columbus set out on his second voyage, but this time under very different auspices than he had done on the occasion of his first doubtful enterprise. He was escorted to some distance from Barcelona by all those whose rank and station gave them importance at Court. Every town through which he was to pass was instructed to supply him and his suite with everything that he required. In lieu of the three vessels with which he had set out in the preceding year, he now set sail with a fleet of eighteen fine ships, containing twelve hundred seamen, three hundred mechanics, and twelve missionaries to convert the

inhabitants of the New World. A plentiful stock of horses, sheep, and other animals, were also embarked, together with such grains as were likely to grow in those regions.

The chief object of the journey to Aragon of Isabel and Ferdinand, was the recovery of the provinces of Roussillon and Ampurdan. The young and inexperienced successor of Louis XI. was imbued with the chimerical hope of making himself master of the kingdom of Naples, alleging, in support of his claim, the bequest of René, Count of Provence, in favour of Charles, Duke of Anjou; and in order to conciliate Ferdinand, and preclude that sovereign from interfering with his intended conquest, he proposed to give up the contested provinces, which had remained so many years in the hands of the French. The treaty was signed on the 18th of January, 1493,* and Isabel and

* The principal articles of treaty between Spain and France were, that they should aid each other against all enemies, and prefer this alliance to all others, with the exception of that of Rome; that the Spanish sovereigns should unite with no other power to the prejudice of France; that they should not dispose of their daughters in marriage without the consent of the French King; and that the provinces of Roussillon and Ampurdan should be restored to the crown of Aragon.

The ingenuity with which the Aragonese historiographers, led by feelings of national pride, have endeavoured to palliate the unscrupulous mendacity displayed by Ferdinand in his dealings with foreign powers, is amusing. In alluding to the promise not to dispose of the Infantas without the sanction of the French King—a promise made against his inclinations, and to which he had not the slightest intention of adhering unless it suited his interests—Abarca says: "Pero aunque la condicion era tan dura y vergonçosa, Don Fernando pidio

Ferdinand hastened to visit the domains so unexpectedly and easily recovered. It was shrewdly suspected that the Aragonese monarch had, in pursuance of the system followed by his father, brought about this favourable result by bribes judiciously distributed to the French agents; and the subjects of Charles, exasperated at so disadvantageous a cession, bitterly reproached d'Albi,* the chief of the negotiators, for the venality imputed, whether justly or unjustly, to him. But Ferdinand, whom neither oaths nor treaties could bind when it suited his interests to break them, under the pretence that the Pope was an exception from the treaty, and, consequently, the kingdom of Naples as a fief of the Church, soon after took up arms in behalf of his kinsman Ferdinand, the young King of Naples. No zeal for his cousin animated the astute King: he feared the increase of power which the acquisition of another kingdom would ensure to his rival, and probably already contemplated putting forward his own claims to the prize.†

primero algunas limitaciones que la diesen blandura y honestidad, mostrando que se le hacia aspera y casi torpe para mostrar tambien con arte tan natural ó tan merecido que la pensaba cumplir; pero consolado con la segura esperança de que no le faltaria despues con la variedad de las cosas medios honestos para negar con razon lo que aora concedia con necessidad."

* Louis d'Amboise, Bishop of Albi.—Ed.

† Ferdinand derived his claim from Alfonso V., his uncle, who, having obtained the kingdom of Naples, partly from Queen Juana's adoption of him and partly by right of conquest, had left it at his death to his illegitimate son Ferdinand, to the prejudice of his brother Juan II., who succeeded him in Aragon.

Ferdinand had taken upon himself the department of foreign politics, while the internal administration of affairs was under the exclusive charge of the Queen, who thus escaped the odium that attaches to the system of duplicity, fraud, and injustice pursued by her husband: consequently, the interminable wars of Italy, scarcely entering within the scope of the present work, will be but slightly touched upon.

The ambitious designs of Charles VIII. having alarmed the Princes of Europe, a league was formed against him, in which Ferdinand took an active part. To this he was the more inclined from the fear that the close proximity of his Sicilian domains to the kingdom of Naples, then invaded by the French, might render the temptation too powerful to be resisted by the enterprising young sovereign. The coalition was determined on, and signed in Venice, in March of the year 1495, and included the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Signiory of Venice, and the Duke of Milan. From the Pope being at its head, the League was named "The Most Holy."* It was to last twenty-five years, and to sustain an army of thirty-four thousand horse, and twenty-eight thousand infantry, the contributors furnishing their respective quotas according to their means. The avowed object was the defence of the Church, and that of the dominions of the leaguers; but its real purpose was the expulsion from Italy of the French; and the negotiations were

* Rodrigo Borgia, elevated to the Popedom in 1492, under the title of Alexander VI.—Ed.

carried on so secretly, that Philip de Comines, the French Ambassador at the Court of Venice, was kept in total ignorance until it was officially notified to him by the Doge.

The League occasioned a vital change in the affairs of Italy, the French losing ground as rapidly as they had hitherto gained it; but its chief results, as far as Queen Isabel was concerned, were the alliances formed, in consequence, by her children. The first were those of the young Archduke of Austria, Philip the Handsome,* and his sister, the Princess Margarita, with Prince Juan and his sister, the Infanta Juana. In the following year, the King of England, Henry VII., consented to become a member of the coalition, at which time Catalina, the youngest of the Castilian Infantas, was betrothed to Arthur, Prince of Wales.

In the beginning of this year (1495), Isabel lost her chief counsellor and great favourite, the Cardinal Don Pedro de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, whose influence and authority at Court was such, that he was called the third sovereign of Spain. During his last illness in Guadalajara, the Cardinal was visited by the sovereigns who came from Madrid to offer him such comfort and consolation as he was capable of receiving. The Queen, especially, did all in her power to soothe his last moments, even taking upon herself the office of his executor, which she subsequently faithfully discharged. Preserving to the last his remarkable faculties

* Son of Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, and subsequently Emperor of Germany.—Ed.

for business, he continued on his death-bed to impart the benefits of his wisdom and experience to his royal mistress.

Whether it were that the approach of death rendered the minister more clear-sighted to the laws of justice and equity so seldom observed by politicians, or that it permitted him, unchecked by worldly considerations, to give utterance to the feelings which he had, in reality, secretly entertained throughout his political career, he strenuously urged the Queen to restore the Princess Juana, daughter of Enrique IV., to her station, by marrying her to Prince Juan, the Crown Prince of Castile and Aragon; but so little did Isabel relish this proposal, that, regardless of the state of the dying prelate, she rose and left the room, saying: "The poor man is distraught, and knows not what he says." He also advised that peace should be kept with France; a counsel as distasteful and as little followed as the other. He expired on the 11th of January; and in accordance, it is said, with his own last wishes and advice, the Archbishopric of Toledo was bestowed on Francisco Ximenez Cisneros, a friar of the order of St. Francis, who, since the promotion of Talavera, the Queen's confessor, to the Archbishopric of Granada, had, through the influence of the late Cardinal, occupied this important post. This remarkable man long declined the honour proffered to him; and as his excessive fanaticism appears to have been untinged by worldly considerations, it is very probable that his reluctance was unfeigned.

The motives which induced the Queen to select this obscure friar for so eminent a dignity, in preference to any of the distinguished and learned men of rank whose qualifications entitled them to stand as candidates for it, were founded on sound policy, whether, as some say, they were the inspirations of the late Cardinal, or suggested by her own good sense. The two last primates had been men whose high birth, great connections and vast hereditary possessions rendered them vassals too powerful and independent for sovereigns, who sought to establish the monarchical authority at the expense of the aristocracy, and to whom the deference they had found it necessary to pay to these proud subjects had become an insupportable yoke. The addition to their private revenues of those of the primacy, enabled them to maintain a state that rivalled royalty itself, giving no little umbrage to sovereigns who looked with jealous eyes at any approach to competition with themselves. Another great consideration was that the new Archbishop being free from the claims which had burthened his less scrupulous predecessors, would probably employ the vast revenues at his disposal in conformity with their original destination in lieu of forming *Mayorazgos*;* and owing his elevation entirely to the sovereigns, would also be liable to no other influence.

Notwithstanding the repugnance which the new primate had manifested to accept this high dignity, he was no sooner invested with its powers than he laid

* *Mayorazgo*, an entailed estate devolving on the eldest son.

aside all moderation and diffidence. Possessed of a stern, unbending disposition, unbounded fanaticism, and energetic perseverance, he scrupled not as to the means to be employed, if the object were one which he considered necessary. These qualities, and the conformity of their views, eminently fitted him for the post of counsellor to Isabel, and she was soon entirely governed by his counsels, whether for the advantage or disadvantage of the nation will be seen.

To the suggestions of Ximenez, Spain was indebted for the great monastic reforms introduced by the Queen—a reform which the excessively lax state of morals of the clergy at that period imperatively demanded, but one which the length of time that the evil had continued rendered extremely difficult. But no obstacle could be insuperable to an individual of the temper of Ximenez, who, supported by the Queen, carried his plans through with a high hand.

The object in view was in this case so laudable, that, had the Archbishop taken no worse steps than the present one, his arbitrary measures might have been deemed excusable ; while, by his own ascetic life, amid the pomp and splendours of a Court, he enforced his precepts.

The conduct observed by Isabel herself was also well calculated to aid the great work she had undertaken. In order to convert the idle and dissipated nuns of the numerous cloisters in which the laws of discipline and conventual austerity had become obsolete, she would make them long visits, and, while employed with her needle or distaff, by the gentle tone of her exhortations, and the efficacy of her example, prove to them the

beneficial effects of a life well occupied. Indeed, the whole tenor of Isabel's domestic existence might well be an example to her subjects, and has been universally and justly lauded.

During the long and active wars in which she was engaged, it would scarcely seem possible that she could find leisure to devote to her children, yet such was the system which she observed in the distribution of her time, that she neglected none of her private duties, even while she paid the strictest attention to State affairs. The care that she bestowed on the education of her children was unremitting, and the plan she pursued in it admirable. Their naturally gentle and amiable dispositions were fostered, their intellects cultivated, and the latent germs of faults eradicated with diligent care. Her daughters were taught not only the solid branches of education so seldom acquired in that age by ladies, but all the elegant accomplishments then cultivated. In Latin, at that period much more used than at the present day, they were well versed.

The particular pains bestowed by Isabel on the education of the son for whose head was intended a diadem composed of more gems than had ever adorned the brows of any one of his ancestors, are especially recorded by contemporary writers, in terms of high and deserved praise. That the Prince, while enjoying the benefits of private tuition, might not be deprived of the spur of emulation afforded by competition in public schools, the Queen caused ten youths, the sons of nobles, five of whom were of the same age as her

son, and five somewhat older, to be brought up with him; and these constant companions partook of all the advantages which he enjoyed, sharing alike his studies and his pleasures. This happy idea, which emanated from Isabel alone, has been greatly admired.

Not only the youths thus brought into direct and continual association with the Prince, but all other persons whose duties called them near him, even his pages, were selected with discriminating care by his mother; and so judicious did her choice prove, that nearly all his pages, as well as his youthful companions, were, in after life, distinguished by some superior excellence. At the age of eighteen a separate establishment was allowed to the Prince, of which the superintendence was given to men on whose strict integrity the Queen could fully rely; while others, honoured for their superior wisdom and learning, were appointed members of a council formed for the Prince in imitation of the Council of State, in which all matters pertaining to the administration were discussed. Thus did the forethought of Isabel aim at sparing her son the embarrassment and unavoidable errors resulting on a sudden transition from the puerile occupations of boyhood to the laborious duties and cares of sovereignty; for the members of his council were in fact the masters to teach him the science of government. He was instructed in the art of fence by the maestro Bernal, whose skill was deemed unrivalled; and his sword, according to the custom of the age, was always hung, during his sleep, at the head of his bed.

Drawing and music, of which the Prince was extremely fond, were also taught to him.

Nor was the Queen solicitous only for the education of her own children. She sedulously sought to inspire the young nobility with a taste for literature; and invited to her Court, and honoured with her patronage, men famed for their scholarship, both natives and foreigners. Among those whose learning gained for them the royal favour, stand several to whose writings we are chiefly indebted for information concerning her reign; and this fact will probably explain the extraordinary leniency with which her fatal errors have been either palliated or applauded, and the exaggerated encomiums bestowed on her good qualities.

Pedro Martyr, a learned Milanese, at her suggestion opened a school which was frequented by the sons of the highest nobility. His correspondence with men of high standing at Court, with his pupil Prince Juan, and even with the Queen herself, remains and furnishes many interesting particulars. Antonio de Lebrija, Lucio Marineo, and many others whose erudition and industry are attested by the works which they have left behind them, seconded the Queen's efforts, and diffused a thirst for knowledge, that, stimulated as it was by the example of their royal patroness, did not confine itself to one sex.

But the care Isabel bestowed on her offspring could not ensure to them either happiness or length of days; and while fortune smiled on all her public undertakings, in her domestic affections she was sorely tried.

Her eldest and most tenderly-loved child, the Infanta Isabel, who had imbibed her mother's bigotry without possessing the capacity by which it was accompanied, had returned to Spain, after eight months of wedded life, with blighted hopes and a desolate heart, to mourn the loss of her first love.* Wooed some years afterwards by the new King of Portugal, she made her consent to marry him conditional on his expelling from his dominions the Jews and Moors who had taken refuge there after their expulsion from Spain. This condition, pitilessly exacted, sufficiently indicates the narrow mind of the Princess, who attributed the premature death of her first husband to the wrath of Heaven, excited by the protection given to the wretched Israelites by his father, the late King, Juan II.† This

* The Princess Isabel was first married to Alfonso, only son of Juan II., King of Portugal, and subsequently to Manuel the Fortunate, the successor of that monarch.—Ed.

† About eighty-three thousand of these persecuted people had, on their expulsion from Spain, taken refuge in Portugal, where Juan II. permitted them to remain in consideration of the payment of one cruzado for each person. The false Prince had, however, no sooner collected the immense sum which the tax produced, than he published a decree condemning to slavery all Jews found in his dominions at the expiration of three months from the date of the edict. The decree was not very strenuously enforced, and was annulled by his successor Don Manuel, who at his accession freed all such as had been made slaves. But this liberality was of short duration; to obtain the hand of the Castilian Infanta—a point in which his pride was equally interested with his affection — Don Manuel suffocated the voice of humanity, and exceeded even Isabel in intolerant folly. The decree of the late King was revived. All who refused to become converts were forced to embark or were reduced to slavery. Adults alone were permitted to depart, while all children under the age of four-

union, cemented by an act of monstrous inhumanity, was not more fortunate than the first, the Princess dying in childbirth within eighteen months after her marriage.

Deprived of some of her children by death, and of others by the alliances which they had contracted, Isabel had not always the consolation of knowing that the new ties which the survivors had formed, while they separated her loved ones from her, insured their happiness. The weak intellect of her daughter Juana, foreshadowing the total loss of reason that followed, and her utter deficiency of personal charms, which, producing in the heart of the handsome husband whom she idolized an indifference akin to abhorrence, destroyed the little happiness that she was capable of enjoying, caused many a heart-ache to the Queen.

The youngest Infanta, Catherine, was as unfortunate in her first union as the elder, a premature death depriving her, after a few months' marriage, of her

teen were torn from their parents and forcibly baptized. Many were thus compelled to adopt a creed they secretly abhorred, while numbers, after murdering their children, committed suicide, exasperated by the alternative in view. The scenes that ensued were such as no pen can adequately describe.

The Portuguese themselves were far from attributing the anger of Heaven, manifested in the death of Prince Alfonso, to the same motive as the Castilian Princess. Those who indulged superstitious feelings concerning it, attributed this angry fiat of an offended Deity to the King's having forsaken the cause of the Princess Juana, daughte of Enrique IV., called by the Portuguese "La Excelente Señora," before whose eyes the melancholy event had occurred in Santarem.

first husband; and though Isabel did not live to sympathize with the sorrows inflicted by the tyrant whom State reasons had forced her child to accept as her second lord, so disproportionate a union boded little happiness. The sudden death of her son and grandson were not only bitter domestic sorrows, but irreparable national calamities, inasmuch as she foresaw that the splendid empire she would leave behind, at her death, was to devolve on the offspring of her insane daughter, and flighty, heartless son-in-law.

Private griefs of a different nature also added many a drop to the poisoned chalice she was forced to drain amid the triumphs of a singularly fortunate political career. Though Ferdinand avoided giving scandal by an open avowal of his mistresses, his infidelity was notorious; and the offspring of his numerous amours were recognised, and liberally provided for. This may be accounted one of the greatest vexations of Isabel, whose jealousy was not the less poignant for being kept under control. Her innate dignity and sense of propriety never permitted her, however much she might suffer, to give vent to any public demonstration of angry feeling; but she was lynx-eyed to perceive every symptom of preference shown by Ferdinand to any of the fair dames who graced the Court; and she took prompt measures to remove the object that threatened to rival her in his affections; being careful, withal, to soften the dismissal by rendering the exile as honourable as circumstances could permit.

Though she never sacrificed her will, or rendered her plans subservient to his wishes, there is no doubt that Isabel loved her husband with all the warmth of which her nature was susceptible; and the expression of her last wishes proved her anxiety to prevent the sunderance, even after death, of the tie which united them. How little this devotion was reciprocated the sequel will show.

By a singular coincidence, which apparently augured little felicity to the approaching nuptials, the fleet that conveyed the Infanta Juana to Flanders, and brought to Spain the Princess Margarita, was buffeted by severe gales. Isabel, wishing to enjoy the society of her child to the last moment, accompanied her to the little port of Laredo, in Asturias, where she was to embark with a train composed of persons of high birth and standing. On the appointed day, the 22nd of August of the year 1496, the fleet, consisting of one hundred and thirty vessels, manned by twenty-five thousand sailors well equipped, set sail; but shortly after it had left the shores of Spain, unfailing tokens announced to the Queen the perils to which her daughter was exposed. Her anxiety was excessive, and the dubious words and looks of the experienced mariners whom she summoned to give their opinion on the degree of danger and probability of escape, were little calculated to allay it. News at last came of her child's safety. Though several of the vessels had been lost, and numbers of her attendants had perished from the severity of the weather, the Infanta had reached Flanders, and her nuptials with

the Archduke were shortly after celebrated in Lille with great splendour.*

The fleet, being delayed by the numerous repairs which the stress of weather that it had encountered rendered necessary, did not set sail with the Princess Margarita until the following year; when, as on the former occasion, it was overtaken by tempests so violent that, at one time, all hopes of weathering the gale were lost. The fortitude bordering on indifference with which the royal maiden received the news of the imminent danger is greatly commended. Without betraying by word or look the slightest emotion, she prepared to meet her fate. With rare forethought she decorated herself with such jewels as would identify her corpse if washed ashore, and deliberately wrote the following epitaph on herself:

> "Cy gist Margot, noble damoyselle,
> Deux fois† mariée, morte pucelle."

The slip of paper containing these lines she folded in a piece of oiled silk, which she fastened under one

* While a costly fleet of one hundred and thirty sail was dispatched on this errand, the discoverer of a new world was vainly asking for eight caravels to prosecute his discoveries!

† This Princess, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, had been in her childhood betrothed to Charles VIII., at whose Court she remained until she was nine years of age, when, political reasons rendering a marriage with the heiress of Britanny more advisable, she was sent back to her father. This unpardonable insult was bitterly remembered by the house of Austria.

of the costly bracelets that she wore; but such precautions were fortunately not needed, the fleet reaching Santander, after sustaining some loss, in March, 1497.

Great preparations had been made in Spain for the reception of the Princess, and the nuptials were celebrated in Burgos, on the 3rd of April, with a magnificence surpassing any exhibited on former occasions of a similar nature. Besides the grandees and gentlemen who, from all parts of Spain, came in the hope of distinguishing themselves at the tourneys, a number of Ambassadors from the different European States were present at the bridal *fêtes*. By the King's orders, Aragon, Castile, and Valencia, were represented by their delegates; and the deputies from the different cities appeared with the costumes, insignia, and retinues, that pertained to their office in their several cities. The important city of Saragossa was represented by the Vice-Chancellor of Aragon in his crimson robes of office, attended by two of the chief gentlemen of the city.

Though the Queen commanded that no change should be made in the household of the Princess, and that she should be permitted to retain her Flemish attendants, and live according to the fashion to which she had been accustomed, she was enjoined to adopt towards those around her the grave and ceremonious deportment of the Spanish Court, in lieu of the more familiar and light manners of the French capital in which she had been brought up. An amusing description is given of

the pains taken by the Queen to arrange the ceremonial to be observed at the meeting of the bride with the royal family; to decide who should be kissed and who embraced; whose hands should be kissed, and by whom; and the difference to be observed by the sisters in their treatment of each other, according to the rank of each.

Shortly afterwards, in the course of the same year, the betrothals by proxy of Catalina, the youngest of the Infantas, with Arthur, Prince of Wales, took place in the royal palace of Woodstock; but in consequence of the youth of the contracting parties, the celebration of the marriage was deferred until some years subsequently.

The nuptials of the widowed Princess Isabel with Don Manuel, King of Portugal, also took place within this year, but were attended by none of the festivities usual on such occasions. A gloom was thrown over the bridal by the news which was brought of the sudden illness of Prince Juan, who, with his bride, had gone to Salamanca. Three days after his arrival, in the midst of the *fêtes* given by the city in honour of the royal couple, the Prince, whose constitution had never been strong, was attacked by fever, which, continuing with unabated violence thirteen days, ended his life on the 4th of October. On hearing of his son's illness, the King set out, and travelling night and day, found him still, and in full possession of his faculties.* The calm,

* The fatal intelligence reached the Spanish sovereigns at Valencia de Alcantara, where they were celebrating the marriage-festival of Manuel and Isabel.—Ed.

philosophical spirit with which the dying Prince beheld his end approaching, and the consolations that he addressed to his royal parent, are descanted on by some writers with much complacency, while others assert that he was too far gone to receive or to convey impressions of any kind.

The death of the destined heir of their greatness was a terrible blow to Isabel and Ferdinand, but they bore it with calm resignation, the Queen finding strength in her anguish to submit to the bereavement in the words of Scripture, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be His name!" but the grief the Prince's death occasioned was not confined to the royal family. All the nation mourned a loss that was likely to entail fatal consequences to the union and peace which had been established in the kingdom. The obsequies were conducted with a pomp of woe that spoke the greatness of the loss; the Court, instead of the white serge hitherto worn on such occasions adopted sackcloth as a deeper mourning. Pedro Martyr, who has left an affecting picture of the sorrow of the royal parents, has not omitted the grief of Brutus, a beautiful hound belonging to the Prince, which could not be induced to forsake the corpse, but followed it to the tomb where it was deposited, and died there. The mortal remains of the youth in whom so many hopes had been centred, were deposited in the Dominican monastery of St. Tomas in Avila.

Heavy as was the weight of their own sorrow, Ferdinand and Isabel endeavoured to find words of

comfort to cheer the young widow thus suddenly deprived of her husband, for hopes were entertained that a posthumous son of the deceased Prince might yet take his place in his parents' affections, and inherit the same brilliant expectations. But these hopes also proved fallacious, for the infant of which the Princess was delivered was still-born.

Though Margarita was treated with great kindness by the King and Queen, she pined, after her husband's death, to return to her native land; and this wish finding an echo in the hearts of her Flemish attendants, who disliked the restraint and punctilious etiquette of the Spanish Court, they warmly seconded the resolution she had formed. The sovereigns, though they were naturally little desirous that their son's widow should contract a second marriage, foreseeing that at her age this was almost inevitable, and fearing lest on her return home she might be bestowed on one beneath her and inferior in rank to her first husband, were urgent that she should remain with them; offering, if the Emperor her father would leave the choice to them, to further her interests in preference to those of their own unmarried daughter, the Infanta Maria. But the only tie that had bound Margarita to Spain had been severed; and, however much historians may descant on the kindness of Isabel and Ferdinand towards the talented young widow, there was something cold, heavy, and stifling in the atmosphere of the Spanish Court, at variance with her own warm and expansive nature, which made her feel herself a

stranger in a strange land; and she sighed to exchange the measured caresses of her mother-in-law, for the genial fervour of her kindred's embraces. She accordingly resisted all entreaties, and returned to Flanders in 1499. She subsequently married the Duke of Savoy, who died three years afterwards, without issue. She did not marry again; but having been appointed by her father to govern the Netherlands during his absence, proved herself fully competent to the task. She died in 1530.

The succession now devolved on Isabel, Queen of Portugal and Princess of Castile, who, with her husband, was invited into Castile, that they might be sworn heirs of the Spanish monarchy. Before this could be accomplished, however, news came that the Archduke Philip had assumed for himself and his wife the title of Princes of Castile.* This assumption of a right that did not pertain to him was the commencement of the series of vexations by which, during the course of his short career, he continually gave offence to his father-in-law.

The King and Queen of Portugal arrived in Castile in March, 1498, where, the Cortes having been convened for that purpose, they were sworn without a dissenting voice. Ferdinand having convened the Aragonese Cortes to meet in Saragossa, the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal repaired thither to obtain a

* Philip founded his right to the title of Prince of Castile on the ground that Isabel, the eldest Infanta, was born before her parents had ascended the throne, and Juana after their accession.

similar recognition of the rights of Isabel from that body. Fears were entertained that the Aragonese Cortes would prove less tractable than the Castilian. It had been reported to Ferdinand that his cousin, the Infante Don Enrique, then in Valladolid, had, since the death of Prince Juan, asserted that the succession devolved on his own son Don Alfonso of Aragon, not only in accordance with the ancient custom of Aragon, which from its antiquity had acquired the force of a law, but in conformity also with the clauses of the will of the late King, which provided that, in default of direct heirs male, the sons of the Infantas, daughters of Ferdinand, should inherit the crown of Aragon, though the mothers themselves were excluded. The hopes of Don Alfonso were not without some foundation, for they were sanctioned by a large portion of the nation, many being apprehensive that a union of the two kingdoms under one Prince would render Aragon subordinate to Castile.

On the 14th of June, Ferdinand required the Cortes to acknowledge his daughter and her husband as his successors; and the requisition, as had been anticipated, met with a decided opposition. The ancient custom of the land, the clauses of the will of Juan II., the precedent of Petronilla (the only Queen-proprietor who had ever reigned in Aragon), who, when in danger of death, had made a will instituting her husband heir, to the exclusion of her daughter; these and many other arguments were urged; while the King was reminded of the civil war occasioned by the attempt made by his ancestor, Pedro IV., to obtain the recogni-

tion of his daughter. Great objections were also raised against swearing allegiance to Don Manuel. The evils that had ensued from a similar case, when the late King, having been sworn joint-heir with his wife Blanche, the Queen-proprietor of Navarre, was enabled to dispute her inheritance with his own children, were too fresh in the memory of the deputies not to be warmly urged against a repetition of the cause.

On the other hand, the partisans of the measure alleged that no law excluding females from the succession had ever been promulgated, and that a custom could not be equivalent to a statute; that Petronilla had no right to alter the succession; that the civil war occasioned by the demand of Pedro had resulted in his favour, and in the destruction of the privileges of the rebels; and that the clause of the late King's will, excluding the Infantas, yet allowing them to transmit the rights they were not supposed to possess, was absurd.

The pride of Isabel was greatly chafed by the hesitation of the Cortes to acknowledge what she considered as the unquestionable rights of her daughter. Accustomed to the undisputed sway she exercised in Castile, the long discussions to which the question had given rise irritated her exceedingly; and in her impatience, she openly expressed herself to the effect that, "It were better to conquer the kingdom by force of arms than to abide the pleasure of the Cortes, and be subjected to its impertinence." Don Alfonso de Fonseca, to whom this tirade was addressed, respectfully, but firmly replied, that "The Aragonese acted

as men who knew well the value of promises, and as they meant to abide by their oaths, they never made them rashly; that the acknowledgment of a Princess was too unprecedented an act to be decided on without mature deliberation."

But the Queen could not see reason in that which opposed her wishes; and if she refrained from essaying coercive measures it was from a sense of their uselessness, not from a conviction of their injustice. An unfortunate event, however, soon after decided the question; and momentarily filling her heart with sorrow, stifled the voice of ambition. Ere the debate concerning the succession had been brought to a conclusion, the object of it died in giving birth to a son, August 23rd, 1498. This melancholy occurrence, while it put an end to the contention (the Aragonese willingly permitting the son to derive from the mother a right which they had denied to herself), also crushed the hopes of the King of Portugal, who, immediately resigning the title of Prince of Castile, returned to his own dominions.

The little Prince was christened Miguel, and was committed by the grand justiciary of Aragon to the guardianship of his grandparents until he should attain his fourteenth year. Never before had a Prince been declared heir to the three kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal; but those who were in attendance on the frail little being over whose head this triple diadem was suspended, plainly saw that he would never live to bear its glorious weight. Their presenti-

ments were soon verified; the seeds of consumption, the insidious disease of his mother, were in the system of the child, and he died before he had completed his second year.

This new blow, ere she had recovered from the shock of the successive deaths of her two children, produced a great impression on the Queen, whose constitution had been greatly impaired by the excessive fatigues she had undergone in the prosecution of the Moorish war. For some time after the death of her idolized Isabel, she had remained seriously ill, and she never thoroughly regained her health. But those to whom the destiny of nations is intrusted, have little time to give to the indulgence of private sorrows, and important events were to occupy the few years that yet remained to the Queen.

Not to interrupt the narrative of those occurrences, which, while they exercised so great an influence on the political existence of Isabel, affected her so deeply in her domestic relations, the chronological order of others has been interrupted. With the affairs of Italy, it has been shown that she had little to do; Ferdinand being alone responsible for the tortuous course adopted by Spain towards that distracted country. Charles VIII., after overrunning Italy, and causing himself to be proclaimed King in Naples on the 12th of May, 1495, had set out on his return to France on the 20th of the same month, leaving ten thousand men under the command of the Sieur de Montpensier, for the defence of his new acquisition, and taking nine thousand to escort him to

France. This imprudent measure, dividing his forces and rendering them inadequate to either purpose, occasioned the loss of his conquest, and subjected him to great danger on his return. Near Fornaro, on the banks of the Tarro, which has given its name to the battle, the brave but improvident Prince was encountered by the army of the leaguers, whose numerical superiority apparently rendered his defeat inevitable.

The Milanese and Venetians, of which it was composed, were, however, forced to give way before the impetuous charge of the French and their gallant King, who, after performing prodigies of valour, succeeded in making good his retreat to his own dominions. The death, in 1498, of this chivalrous, but thoughtless and imprudent sovereign, left the throne of France to his kinsman, the Duke of Orleans. Louis XII., whose courage was not inferior to that of his predecessor, and who was endowed with far more ability for the discharge of the duties of his high station. To this Prince, who was preparing himself to renew the contest for Naples, Ferdinand made the iniquitous proposal that they should divide that kingdom; a treaty of partition which was accepted, and received the sanction of the Church, in the person of the infamous Borgia,* who bestowed on it his solemn blessing.

* The family name of Alexander VI. was Rodrigo Borgia. He had succeeded, in 1492, Pope Innocent VIII. The hatred of Borgia to the unfortunate King of Naples originated in the refusal of that sovereign to give his daughter, the Infanta Carlota, in marriage to the Duke of Valentinois, son of the Pontiff. Though aware of the dan-

This nefarious transaction has excited the indignation of the usually lenient Aragonese writers,* who cannot refrain from bestowing some censure, even while they endeavour to excuse the shameless ambition which thus ejected from his dominions an unfortunate cousin, whose family, a branch of the royal house of Aragon, had possessed the throne of Naples for three generations, during half a century.†

But in all that concerns the internal administration of affairs in her own dominions, especially in all that treats of Granada, her conquest, and, by her own confession, the object of her especial and most anxious care, we must look to Isabel. On her robes must fall the torrents of blood that were shed during the struggles of the revolted Moors, which, beginning in the last year of the fifteenth century, continued not only throughout the remainder of her reign, but during

gerous enmity which he was provoking, the King supported his daughter in her rejection of her fierce suitor, saying, that he preferred to see himself reduced to the rank of a private gentleman, rather than become the father-in-law of a Borgia.

* Abarca terms it "una triste conclusion y melancolica gloria;" and again, "una no menos feliz que triste conquista."

† Alfonso V., King of Aragon and Naples, and uncle of the present King of Aragon, left the kingdom of Naples to his illegitimate son, Ferdinand I., who dying January 25th, 1494, was succeeded by his son, Alfonso II. Alfonso, finding himself unable to defend his kingdom from the French invasion, resigned his crown, in 1495, to his son Ferdinand, who dying in 1496, was succeeded by his uncle Fadrique, or Frederic, the last of that unfortunate race. The Spanish monarch derived his claim from his descent from the legitimate branch of the royal family of Aragon.

those of several of her successors; and to her false and iniquitous system must be imputed the sufferings endured by so many thousands, not of barbarians, but of educated and refined citizens of a kingdom surpassed, in point of civilization, by no other in Europe.

From the period of Isabel's departure from Granada, seven years of uninterrupted tranquillity had elapsed; and the peaceful submission of so large a population was entirely due to the wisdom, integrity, and goodness of those left in charge of the administration. Men better adapted to the task assigned to them could not have been found. The Count of Tendilla, the military commander, was the soul of honour; and, by his prowess in the field during the Moorish war, had won the admiration of foes ever ready to do justice to that quality in others for which they themselves were so eminently distinguished. The strict discipline that he maintained among his troops was especially grateful to a conquered people, who would otherwise have had much to suffer from the unchecked licence of an ignorant and bigoted soldiery. Prompted no less by the generosity of his nature than by the dictates of his excellent judgment, this accomplished knight had constituted himself the protector of the Moors, who repaid him by a devotion to his person, and a confidence in his good faith, as honourable to him as to themselves. The Count had an excellent coadjutor in Fray Francisco de Talavera, whose heart was the abode of every evangelical virtue.

With a thorough understanding of his apostolical mission, this minister of peace and charity undertook

the work of conversion, in a spirit very different to that which had dictated the measures hitherto employed; and his efforts were attended with the success that they deserved. From the moment he was promoted to the dignity of Archbishop of Granada—a promotion he valued not for the additional importance which it gave him in the eyes of the world, but inasmuch as it enlarged his sphere of active benevolence—he gave up the post of confessor to the Queen, which demanded his attendance on the Court, in order to devote himself entirely to his new duties.

Amid the dark scenes through which the perusal of the records of those times conducts us—scenes illumined at fitful intervals by the sinister rays of a blood-red sun—turning from the sight of pitiless ambition, seeking its ends through artifice, fraud, and usurpation, and from a series of scandalous treacheries and wholesale massacres, the eye rests with a feeling of unspeakable relief on the name of Talavera—a name shining with no borrowed lustre, deriving no light from adventitious circumstances, but surrounded with a pure halo of its own, that spreads its genial influence over the heart, rescuing it from the misanthropy engendered by sad studies, and restoring its faith in humanity. No laboured eulogium could add to the fame of this truly great and good man; the simple recital of his deeds sufficiently indicates his character, his pursuits, and his aim. Did not the historian delight in dwelling on so rare a subject, and in enumerating a few of the beautiful traits that have stamped the man, the system pursued by Talavera would be suffi-

ciently demonstrated in one of his own maxims. When exhorting the civil functionaries to avoid using harshness towards the Moors, "They are as yet but babes," would he say, "and must be fed on milk."

In order to facilitate his communication with the Infidels, notwithstanding his advanced age, Talavera applied himself to the study of Arabic, and obtained such a knowledge of it as permitted him to convey his meaning to his pupils. When his imperfect enunciation marred his eloquence, he has been heard to exclaim that he would give an eye to be able to speak plainly. He exacted from the ecclesiastics within his jurisdiction that they should follow his example, confine themselves to their parishes, and apply themselves to the task of instructing those who sought their lessons. To remove the chief bar to a free intercourse between the two nations, he founded a school, in which Spanish and Arabic were taught; caused grammars and vocabularies to be printed; and also translations into Arabic of portions of the Scriptures, and books of devotion. He preached once in every week, gave daily religious instruction, and visited all the sick who desired his presence. While he spared no pains to obtain converts, he refused to baptize such as had not been previously prepared to receive that sacrament, for he was well aware of the little good produced by such mock conversions; and all neophytes were subjected to a proper course of theological study.

Such a system could not but succeed; and it causes no surprise to learn that of the numbers who, without

any worldly interest, were induced from conviction to embrace the faith that presented itself under so mild an aspect, not one was known to apostatize again. So kindly and unostentatious were his efforts, so sincere was his piety, so constant his benevolence, that he was idolized by the Moors, who delighted in bestowing the most endearing epithets on him, whom they designated as their holy Christian Alfaqui; while so little had they seen of true charity among Christians, that they sought some supernatural cause for that of Talavera; the lower classes believed him to be inspired, and averred that while he was explaining the sacred dogmas, they had seen a ball of fire descend from heaven, and hover over his venerable head. Nor did the provident charity of this true pastor extend merely to supplying the spiritual wants of his flock. On his promotion to the Archbishopric, he had refused to accept of emoluments higher than those attached to the Bishopric of Avila, which he then resigned; and his revenues, amounting to two millions of maravadies, he continued to spend almost entirely in public works and alms.

The life of austere frugality which he himself led, did much towards counteracting the tendency of the clergy to a luxurious and sensual life; and it is recorded that the very furniture of the good prelate was several times sold by his orders, to procure money for some benevolent or useful purpose. His plate was twice bought back for twenty thousand maravadies, and presented to him by the equally generous military Commander. On the following Sunday, the Archbishop

premised his discourse with the following words: "Twice has the Count of Tendilla generously purchased and returned my service of plate; but I warn him that should it be returned a hundred times, I would continue to sell it; for, in a season of scarcity like the present, the plate of the Archbishop must help to relieve the wants of his people."

During the year of scarcity alluded to by Talavera, he gave away his only mule, saying that he could not afford to keep her while the poor were hungering. Two hundred and fifty persons daily took their meals at his table; of these, some were students, some Moors of rank, and some learned Moorish doctors of the law. But although the charity of the Archbishop was inexhaustible, it was not indiscriminately bestowed to the encouragement of idleness. The needy who came to the audience which he daily held, found in his antechamber implements of industry with which they were required to busy themselves until it was their turn to be admitted; and when they were dismissed they were allowed to carry with them, and to consider as their own, the work which they had commenced, and the materials requisite to finish it. The chief object of the wise prelate was to promote industry and prevent mendicity; and with this object he opened worshops for those who were able to labour. Each day he personally inspected the public works, which he had commenced in order that those whom the late war had thrown out of employment, or otherwise deprived of their means of existence, might there find a resource against want. No less judgment was seen in his

administration of justice. Law-suits in his tribunal were decided briefly, and without cost to the parties; and during sixteen years that he continued to give his decisions, not one appeal was made from them.

A most efficient assistant had been left by the Queen to both Governors, in the person of her secretary, Fernando de Zafra; a counsellor whose legal knowledge enabled him to explain any doubtful points that might occur in the clauses of the treaty of capitulation. Zafra had himself drawn up the treaty; and, endowed with a soul to which fraud and deceit were strangers, he understood its articles literally, and interpreted them in a true spirit.

Under the fostering care of such men as these, Granada improved rapidly; and reviving from the state of prostration into which she had fallen, would doubtless have risen to her former flourishing condition. The severity of the authorities was more needed to curb the insolence of the newly-settled Christians than to restrain the Moors; for, notwithstanding the protection which the latter received, they could not venture out after nightfall without being exposed to insult and outrage. Still the Infidels were grateful for the efforts made in their behalf; and were gradually becoming reconciled, and even attached, to the new Government, acknowledging that they had never been treated by their own sovereigns with more equity and discernment. The idle and needy adventurers who, from all parts of Spain, had flocked to Granada, were settling down into orderly and industrious citizens; and so quiet was the city, that two hundred soldiers sufficed for its garrison.

No less satisfactory was the union that subsisted between the Spanish nobles who had obtained grants of estates, and their Moorish vassals; the benign and salutary influence of the wise Governors not having been limited to the city, but diffused far and wide over the conquered territory, carrying with it the elements of peace and comfort.

But this beneficent and conciliatory system was too foreign to the views and feelings of those at the head of the Government to be allowed to continue long enough to produce permanent effects. In July, 1499, the sovereigns returned to Granada; and in the month of October, the Queen summoned her minister Ximenez to join her there, and established him as a colleague to Talavera. In the following month the King and Queen left Granada; and Ximenez, on what authority has never been clearly seen, then took upon himself the entire direction of affairs. That he should have presumed thus far without the knowledge and sanction of Isabel is very improbable, as he enjoyed her unlimited confidence, and shared her views upon all points; yet an attempt has been made to clear her from all blame attaching to the atrocities and foul breach of faith that subsequently took place.

From this period a great change was wrought in Granada. That Ximenez had concerted his plan, and was prepared for the part which he intended to act, is obvious. In the preceding year, the death of Torquemada having left vacant the post of chief Inquisitor, the Primate had successfully exerted his influence to

have it bestowed on his creature, Diego de Deza; and thus he secured an unlimited power to direct the movements of that terrible engine, the Inquisition. When about to start for Granada, he had obtained a decree authorizing him to proceed against the renegades, called Elches, of whom there were numbers of families in the capital, and to take from them all their children who were under age, and baptize them. He did not, however, make use of this power immediately on his arrival, reserving it for the time when he should require it to carry out his plans.

The success achieved by Talavera stimulated the pride of Ximenez, who was bent on surpassing him by the same means. But the measures partook of the nature of the men by whom they were adopted, although they appeared intrinsically the same; that which in Talavera was wise beneficence, in the Primate became absurd prodigality. Like the Archbishop of Granada, he of Toledo admitted the Alfaquis to amicable public conferences, in which they were permitted to argue with him in favour of their own dogmas; but at the conclusion of every controversy he dismissed them loaded with rich gifts. In lieu of trusting to time, and to the efficacy of his reasoning, he bribed them to apostatize from their creed; and while Talavera was liberal only where the object was the relief of real indigence, Ximenez squandered immense sums in purchasing the good-will of the influential and wealthy. Silent, but fervent and heart-breathed prayers, ascended to heaven, invoking blessings on the head of the one; while

the praises of the other were sung in strains of fulsome exaggeration through the streets and thoroughfares.

On the 18th of December, on the occasion of the consecration of the great mosque, the new Primate baptized, by one general aspersion, four thousand converts, not one of whom had received any previous instruction; and to obtain his ends, he lavished so largely that he encumbered his revenues for several years in advance. Of the sincerity of these purchased conversions he could not but doubt; but the numbers flattered his pride, and it mattered little to him what consequences were entailed on the wretches who thus thoughtlessly placed themselves within the pale of the watchful Inquisition: they had received the Holy Water. Woe to those whom the powerful chain of old beliefs and associations caused to relapse!

While some of the doctors of the Holy Law thus suffered themselves to be bribed, not only to forsake their creed, but to drag in their wake their unlearned followers; others, more scrupulous, indignantly rejecting the bribes of the tempter, essayed to stop the torrent of apostacy, and raised their voices in eloquent defence of the faith of Islam. The right of the Moors to listen in their mosques to the teachings of their Alfaquis, was one of the chief articles of the treaty; but they were dealing with one whose temper could ill brook opposition; and who, when he had determined on a course, pursued it regardless of the restraints which a strict observance of the laws of equity would have imposed on others; and thus, when argument

and interest failed, persecution was called in. Among the faithful Alfaquis who turned a deaf ear to the inducements held out to them, was Mahomed el Zegri, a Moor of royal lineage and high station, held in great esteem by his countrymen for his learning. Persuasion proving impotent to cause him to renounce his faith, or to cease his exhortations to his brethren, he was seized, heavily ironed, and thrown into a dungeon; and a chaplain of the Primate was appointed to bear him company, and soften, by his exhortations, his anticipated obduracy.

What passed between the gaoler and his captive never transpired, the pride of the noble victim probably preventing his avowing that he had yielded to corporeal suffering; but it was known that, failing in the attainment of his object by argument, the Christian was empowered to torture the Moor at will. Whatever were the means employed, it is at least certain that the firmness of the prisoner gave way; and that having solicited an interview with the Primate, he prostrated himself at his feet, and implored that he might be baptized. The pun perpetrated by the proselyte as he rose from his humble posture, certainly appears to indicate the treatment to which he had been subjected: "If your reverence has any further difficulty in convincing the obstinate, I would advise that your *lion* be employed, and success will be ensured." This was a play on the chaplain's name, Pedro de Leon—*lion*.

The conversion of so influential a man induced that

of numbers; but many, among the Spaniards themselves, were too enlightened to approve of such means as were used by the Primate, and numerous were the remonstrances addressed to him. Some, from a sense of the evils which these measures were bringing in their train, urged the danger that would accrue to himself; others, prompted by a more liberal piety than that which actuated the infatuated primate, contended that it was not in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel to use violence to inculcate belief in its doctrines, and urged the decrees of the Councils of Toledo, which reprobated coercive measures towards Infidels. To such arguments as were founded on the perils which he personally incurred, the primate would reply, that in temporal matters such considerations might be allowed an influence, but that where the glory of God and the propagation of His law were concerned, any hesitation was sinful; and that it was no time to pause when Mahommedanism, tottering to its base, was awaiting but a blow to fall prostrate.

Ximenez was well aware of the comparative ease with which he and his satellites could work among the ignorant, for the illiterate had no weapons wherewith to contend against the subtle arguments of the Christian priests; and with a spirit worthy of the Vandals of old, the fanatical primate accordingly resolved to destroy every spring of learning, and to quench every torch whose radiance was shed over a path which he did not himself follow. He calculated, and the sequel proved with reason, that by annihilating

their records of the past, their future existence as a nation would be also destroyed; and he desired to obliterate the very memory of the Moorish name. With this design, he caused all the libraries, public as well as private, in Granada to be ransacked, and their contents to be collected in the square of the Bivarambla, and there burnt.

The executioner who presided at this novel species of *auto de fè*, was the recently converted Zegri; who, being in the receipt of an income of twenty thousand maravadises from the Primate, displayed all the zeal of a neophyte in the service of his patron. It is impossible to estimate correctly the immense loss to literature occasioned by the incendiary torch of this renegade. The number of volumes destroyed has by some been computed at one million and twenty-five thousand; while Conde states it at the equally improbable number of eighty thousand; and however exaggerated the first calculation may appear, it must have been the nearest to the truth, and will not appear strange if we call to mind that Granada was the seat of the elegant learning of the East, and renowned for her schools and students.

Among the works thus lost, were some which were inestimable samples of beautiful caligraphy, containing exquisite paintings; while the bindings, of mother-of-pearl, set with rich gems, of an admirable workmanship, gave them additional value. But the fierce zeal of the Prelate was inexorable; and, with the exception of three hundred volumes on medicine which were

exempted from the fate of their companions, all these precious national monuments were consumed by the flames. This act, worthy a madman, may be said to have completed the triumph of bigotry and ignorance; and yet the perpetrator is depicted to us as a learned and talented man, and a patron of letters!

Did not other deeds of a still more demoniacal character proclaim Ximenez as one of the monstrosities conceived and born of evil, which from time to time afflict the earth, this last act would prove him an idiot; and his fanatical insanity seemed to gather strength as the work of ruin progressed. Regardless of the clauses of the treaty which expressly stipulated liberty of conscience for renegades as well as Moors, he published the decree of the Inquisition with which he had provided himself, and instituted a strict search after the Elches, who living with the Moors were, moreover, bound to them by ties of close relationship; and when this blow was struck at them, much as the Moors had hitherto passively endured, their power of endurance appeared exhausted, and unmistakeable symptoms warned the authorities to desist from the course they were pursuing. But nothing could daunt the Primate, who, with the dogged obstinacy of his temper, warmed in the chase where he met obstacles, and he urged the search with renewed rigour. Men, women, and children were hunted down and dragged to prison, tortures, and death; but the storm that had long been gathering at length broke forth.

The Royal Alquazil, Barrionuevo, who had, by his bar-

barous conduct when executing the commands of his superiors, incurred the hatred of the people, accompanied by an attendant of the Primate, one day entered the house of one of the wealthiest Moorish dames in the Albaycin, and proceeded to bind her and her children, and drag them away, heedless of the menacing gestures of the citizens, who, aware of the species of expeditions upon which he usually went, had gathered round. The prisoner, herself a Moslem and of Moslem parents, earnestly appealed to her countrymen for aid; but, despite her supplications, she was dragged some distance, still continuing her shrieks for rescue, when the crowd that had collected, and which was constantly increasing, rendered it difficult for her captors to proceed.

The Alquazil insolently ordered the people to give way, but in the act of speaking, was struck by a stone that stretched him lifeless. This was the signal for the outbreak. The Primate's attendant escaped, assisted by a woman who sheltered him from the fury of the mob, and the prisoners were triumphantly restored to their homes, while the shouts of "To arms! to arms for our privileges!" resounded throughout the Moorish quarters. The gates of the Albaycin were immediately closed, and its streets barricaded; while long-secreted stores of arms now saw the light, and the greatest activity was everywhere displayed in repairing the ancient fortifications. The movement had been so sudden, that the Moors were prepared to defend their rights, ere any intelligence of

it had reached the Count of Tendilla, who was lodged at the Alhambra.

Aware that the measures of Ximenez had excited the utmost disaffection, he suspected where the blow would fall, and sent an escort to conduct the Primate to the Alhambra; but the fanatic refused to go, saying, that he was resolved to await the crown of martyrdom at his post. The Count's conjectures were correct; a large body of the insurgents was detached to the Alcazaba, where the episcopal residence was situated. The building was strongly constructed of stone, and his followers defended it with energy and judgment until the arrival of the Count at the head of two hundred soldiers, before whom the assailants retreated; and Ximenez, now perceiving the reality of the danger he had braved, allowed himself to be escorted to the Alhambra.*

The position of Tendilla was a difficult one, as the Moors were thirty to one more numerous than the Christians; a superiority of which they were fully aware; while they were, moreover, wrought up to a

* Some slight symptoms of discontent having been evinced during the first residence of the sovereigns in Granada, the Moors were ordered to confine themselves to the Albaycin and the Antequeruela. This was an egregious error, as the whole strength of the Moors was thus concentrated. The Antequeruela, where were lodged five hundred families, was not situated in a position for defence, but the Albaycin was on a height, and surrounded by walls, flanked by towers, was capable of a stout defence. It was inhabited by upwards of five thousand families. The original population of Granada had, since the conquest, dwindled down from two hundred thousand souls to one-fourth of that number.

pitch of frenzied excitement by the late infringements on the royal charter. Tendilla endeavoured to obtain a parley, and sent a messenger with his shield to the Albaycin; but the messenger was insulted, and the shield stoned to pieces.

The Moorish retrenchments were strong; they were abundantly victualled; and several manufactories of arms had been established. They had also chosen a council of forty chiefs which constituted a species of provisional government; but the first effervescence of rage having subsided, they reflected that however strong they might be against the troops then in the capital, they could not pretend to cope with the army which Ferdinand would doubtless bring on them, and they consequently consented to listen to Tendilla. The chiefs, in the name of all, protested that they were not in rebellion, but merely maintaining the privileges which they held under their royal seal; that the royal word had been violated by the Primate, and that it was against him only they had risen. Their reasons were unanswerable, but it was not in the power of the Count to afford them redress; the Primate reigned supreme in Granada.

Matters were in this state when Ximenez, three days after the commencement of the outbreak, deemed it advisable to send intelligence of it to the sovereigns. The courier, a negro who had been recommended for his fleetness, and who was to deliver the despatches to the Queen herself, or to her secretary, in lieu of performing the journey in two days did not reach Seville until the sixth day, having drank to excess

upon the road; but intelligence of the revolt in its true colours had, in the meanwhile, however, reached Ferdinand, with whom the Primate had never been a favourite. Hastening to Isabel, he expressed himself in no measured terms upon the subject: "Behold," said he, "the work of your favourite: in one day he has lost us the fruits of ten years!"

The Queen, alarmed at the result of the system which she had, in all probability, herself dictated, and astounded that Ximenez should have sent her no tidings of the revolt, wrote, upbraiding him sharply for his neglect; but ere the messenger, with her letter, had reached Granada, an emissary of Ximenez arrived at Seville; and, by his subtle and palliating report, paved the way for the Primate himself, who shortly followed his envoy. Ximenez attempted no vindication: "I have," he said, "pushed the Moors to insubordination; and thereby afforded an opportunity for the completion of the great work of their conversion. They have incurred the penalty of treason, let them be offered the choice between death and baptism."

The eloquence of the Primate, who had in his royal mistress a strenuous advocate, prevailed; the proposed measure, with a modification allowing such as chose it to emigrate, was adopted; and a commissioner was sent to Granada to punish the chief instigators of the insurrection, and to promulgate the new edict.

The departure of Ximenez had, in the meanwhile, occasioned a great change in Granada. The good

Talavera, who had, from excess of modesty, shrunk from interfering with the measures taken by the favourite counsellor of the Queen, was no sooner free to act than he endeavoured to regain his ascendancy over the Moors, and to induce them to lay down their arms. Preceded by his chaplain, bearing the cross, the Archbishop fearlessly presented himself at the Albaycin, and had the satisfaction of seeing its well-guarded gates thrown open to receive him. With a countenance serene and imperturbed as though nothing had happened to interrupt the harmony of their intercourse, he passed through the thronged streets, giving his blessing to the multitude that reverentially knelt to receive it; and it was evident that the memory of his kindness was still vivid. Emboldened by his success, he ventured to send for the Count Tendilla, who arrived immediately, attended by a few soldiers; but the sight of the military causing some dissatisfaction, the Count threw his purple cap among the Moors, and advanced, bareheaded and alone, greeted with enthusiastic acclamations.

With such negotiators as the Count and Talavera, it was no difficult matter to restore peace; and it was agreed that the revolt should be ascribed to a desire that the royal word should be respected; that the original terms of capitulation should remain in force; and that the Moors should give up the murderers of Barrionuevo, surrender their arms, throw down their barricades, and peaceably resume their avocations. As hostages for the fulfilment of his word, the Count gave

his wife the Countess, and his two children, who were honourably lodged in the Albaycin, in a residence adjoining the great mosque.

When the Commissioner arrived, Granada presented no vestiges of the recent disturbance: but he had his instructions; and, regardless of the peril to which the hostages would be exposed, he caused the decree to be published. Relying on the well-known good faith of the generous but imprudent Count, the Moors had performed their part of the negotiation, opened their gates, torn down their fortifications, and given up their arms; yet, with a magnanimity which cannot be too much admired, they voluntarily gave up the advantages they had so dearly purchased, and restored to his arms in safety the dear pledges of his honour that he had trusted to their good faith.

The result of this ill-managed insurrection was the forced conversion of the majority of the insurgents, and the immigration of many families; and from that time the national appellation of Moor fell into disuse, the derogatory one of Morisco being substituted for it.

The Moors of the capital, an enervated race, the foundations of whose faith had been undermined by their intercourse with the Christians, and by the efforts of Talavera, had yielded a sullen compliance at the first symptoms of danger; but the hardy natives of the Alpuxarras were men cast in a different mould, whose souls, rugged and stern as their own wild sierras, had not been exposed to the baneful influence of a luxurious city life. The forty chiefs, who, at the publication of

the decree, had fled to the mountains, were received with enthusiasm, and the tale of wrongs which they unfolded was listened to with no idle sympathy. It must be acknowledged that self-interest had no little influence in promoting the desire for vengeance that was awakened in the breasts of the Alpuxarrenos; for they at once felt it was not probable that those who had so unscrupulously trampled under foot the laws of honour, conscience, and humanity, would long leave them to worship, according to their belief, the God of their fathers, amid their mountain retreats.

When, in 1492, the capital had surrendered, many of its inhabitants, unwilling to submit to the sway of the Christians, and thrown out of employment, had taken to the road when pressed by want, and were earning a precarious living by rapine. Organized into bands, and headed by chiefs who had acquired experience in the late war, these brigands, called Monfés, soon became formidable to the scattered Christian villages; they had established a good understanding with the African corsairs who infested the coast, to whom they sold the booty and captives which they made in their excursions; and these pirates, called Gandules, frequently united with them, swelling their numbers to such a degree, as emboldened them to venture to the very gates of the city, laying waste every spot that they approached belonging to the Christians, and rendering their name a terror to the inmates of the lonely farm-houses.

This plague, one of the fruits of the want of faith observed by the sovereigns towards Granada, had

already commenced its ravages previous to their departure for Aragon, and they had intrusted its remedy to the military chiefs scattered over the conquered territory; but the extirpation of these outlaws was no easy matter: Nature had provided them with subterranean caves and mountain eyries, difficult, if not impossible, of access to those unacquainted with the paths that led to them; while the news of the insurrection of Granada and its results had added another stimulus to their activity, and their depredations were carried on to a greater extent than ever.

Fifteen hundred of these Monfés had chosen as their head-quarters, Guejar, a town to which its situation at the foot of the Sierra Nevada, gave great strength; and from this place they sallied on their marauding expeditions, spreading ruin wherever they passed. Impunity had rendered them so formidable, that it became indispensable that prompt and efficient measures should be adopted for their extirpation; and in January of the year 1500, the Count of Tendilla was authorized to raise troops, and proceed against them. Among the captains who joined his banner was the far-famed Gonzalo de Cordova; who, after serving as Generalissimo of the Spanish army in Italy, with a distinction which obtained for him his glorious surname of the Great Captain, and immortalized his fame, having temporarily forfeited the royal favour, was then residing in Lója.

The Count's little army, composed entirely of volunteer nobles, and knights adventurers, was destitute of

infantry, and this circumstance had nearly proved its destruction. The Moors, with their characteristic industry, had laboured to reclaim the soil from its natural sterility, and the plain on which Guejar was situated, was deeply ploughed, and intersected with canals; and the dykes being opened by the Moors as the Spanish cavalry was toiling through the furrows, they were suddenly plunged into mud and water up to their saddle-girths. The heavy armour of the knights rendering it almost impossible for them to extricate themselves, they were long exposed to the fire of the enemy, while they struggled to gain the opposite bank; but the perfect discipline of the Spaniards proved their salvation, and they maintained their ranks with imperturbable serenity amid the shower of missiles that continually thinned them.

The Moors, after the most tenacious resistance, at length gave way before the impetuous valour of their foes, and were driven into the town. The intrenchments were finally carried, and Guejar was taken by storm. This was not accomplished, however, without considerable loss on the part of the Spaniards. The hero of so many battles, the Great Captain himself, had well nigh paid the penalty of the temerity which impelled him to be the first to ascend a scaling ladder, as one of the besiegers seized the adventurous Castilian, and violently thrust him back; but though Gonzalo had nearly lost his balance, his presence of mind did not forsake him; and grasping the projecting battlement with his left hand, he dealt with his

sword so furious a blow at his antagonist as sent him lifeless into the moat. All those found in the town were put to death, without distinction of age or sex; while two thousand three hundred persons, who had taken refuge in the impregnable fortress, but who had been, from want of provision, subsequently compelled to surrender, were divided as slaves among the conquerors.

The barbarity with which Guejar had been treated, in lieu of intimidating the sturdy Alpuxarrenos, nerved them to resistance; and Ferdinand was forced to take the field against them in person, at the head of eighty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. With this army he proceeded to Lanjaron, a town which, from its position on a height, was one of the strongholds of the Moors, and was garrisoned by three thousand men. Want of provisions, as usual, proved the worst foe of the Moors; who, forgetting that for the Queen's efficient corps of pioneers no difficulty was insurmountable, neglected to guard a pass that nature had secured with jealous care, and which required but little precaution on the part of man to have been rendered impassable. The consequence of this carelessness was, that Lanjaron shared the dreadful fate of Guejar; and the Alcayde of the castle preferring death to dishonour, while his soldiers were negotiating a surrender, threw himself headlong from the battlements of the keep.

While Ferdinand was directing his operations in the west of the Alpuxarras, his son-in-law, the Count

of Lerin,* at the head of a strong corps, was attacking Lanjar Andarax on the eastern side; and on the 4th of March, the town was taken by storm, and not only were all its defenders put to death, but the conqueror, wreaking a barbarous vengeance on innocence and helplessness, caused the mosque, where the women, old men, and children had taken shelter, to be blown up.

These successive disasters disheartening the Alpuxarrenos, they at length came to terms with the King. A sum of fifty thousand ducats, in two payments, the ransom of the Christian captives sold to the African corsairs, the surrender of their arms and fortresses—were the conditions on which they obtained peace; and, considering the usual treatment of the vanquished, they will appear liberal. No mention was made of conversion, though, had the Queen and her counsellors been consulted, it is probable that this condition would not have been neglected.

Having succeeded in quelling the insurrection, the King returned to Seville, where he had left the Queen. Not finding it advisable to attempt, by overt acts of violence, the conversion of the Alpuxarrenos, Isabel endeavoured to compass her object by sending among them a number of missionaries; and, strange, passing strange as it may appear, those very men, who, on the mere suspicion that they might be required to abandon the faith of their fathers, had risen, and shed their

* Don Luis de Beaumonte, Constable of Navarre, had married Juana of Aragon, an illegitimate daughter of Ferdinand.

blood in repeated engagements, now voluntarily renounced that faith, and adopted that of their cruel foes! The inhabitants of Almeria, Baza, and Guadix, soon followed the example.

The Queen, desirous of furthering the work which she had so much at heart, returned to Granada in the month of July; where the Archbishop Talavera, who had never ceased his apostolical labours, was, notwithstanding his zeal, too scrupulous by far to satisfy the Queen, as he continued to exact a thorough understanding and conviction in the proselytes whom he was required to baptize. To attain this object, he had, as already stated, caused such portions of the Scriptures as he deemed most conducive to that effect, to be translated into Arabic, with the intention, as opportunity served, to have an Arabic version of the whole of the sacred writings printed. This slow but sure process was, however, ill-suited to the temper of Isabel; and, in order to accelerate matters, she recalled Ximenez to the Moorish capital in December.

That Primate not only strongly reprobated the idea of placing the Scriptures within the reach of the unbelievers, but ordered all the translations which had been made to be destroyed, saying that it was casting pearls before swine to allow the Bible to be read by the ignorant, and that it could but prove a lure to their destruction. The mild Talavera, as usual, submitted his own opinion to that of the Primate, acquiescing in all the latter's innovations without a murmur. To have acted otherwise would probably have been attended with no little danger to himself, and might have pro-

duced no beneficial results to others. But though his conduct thus far may appear excusable, this weakness was subsequently extended beyond all limits; and well had it been for his fame as a man, as well as a divine, had he never written the letter addressed to Ximenez containing the following fulsome panegyric: "Your reverence has exceeded the conquests of the sovereigns themselves, inasmuch as theirs were but of the soil of Granada, while those of your reverence were of the souls of its inhabitants."

Talavera was, on his mother's side, of Jewish lineage; and this circumstance, in all probability, rendered him cautious in attracting the peril-fraught notice of the Inquisition, by incurring the displeasure of the all-powerful Primate, though he had not been deterred by considerations of his own danger from opposing the expulsion of the Jews. After the death of the Queen, he was indebted to the good offices of Ximenez for effecting a narrow escape from the fangs of the Holy Office. He was accused of adhering to the Hebrew rites, and, had it not been for the timely interference of the Primate, would have paid the penalty of the accident of his birth.

Though Ferdinand had left the Moors, in appearance, tranquil and subdued, their submission was but momentary; and no sooner was the insurrection stifled in one quarter, than it broke out in another. The King had scarcely returned to Seville when the inhabitants of the Rio de Almeria and of the Sierra de Filabres, alleging that the missionaries sent by the Queen attempted their conversion by unfair means,

compelling them, by threats of the sword, to accept the Cross, rose and massacred or expelled the meddling priests.

In November, the revolt in those districts was at its height, and Don Diego Fernandez de Cordova, Alcayde de los Donceles, was appointed to the command of a splendid body of troops sent out to quell this insurrection, which was, however, accounted of little moment. It proved, however, more difficult than had been anticipated; for the Spaniards, having laid siege to Belefique, the head-quarters of the rebels, were repulsed with great loss. Unfortunately for the brave Moors, they were ill supplied with water, and, in consequence, unable to sustain a protracted siege. Having been compelled to surrender, the men were all put to death in cold blood by the executioner, and the women sold to the highest bidder. Inox, Huebros, and Torrillos, appalled by the fate of Belefique, surrendered without attempting resistance, and were suffered to ransom themselves for twenty-five thousand ducats.

The ill success of the struggles of the valiant children of Islam was owing as much to their lack of unity as to their restless, inconstant, and improvident nature. Full of individual valour and strength, they lacked coherent power. Their efforts, which, united, would have proved puissant, and, in all probability, fatal to their oppressors, when single and disjointed, were baneful only to themselves. A chief, daring, enthusiastic, and enterprising, but at the same time perse-

vering, prudent, and judicious, who could have found the secret avenue to the hearts of these persecuted people, would, assisted as they were by the natural bulwarks afforded by nature, have baffled the gigantic strength of the Catholic sovereigns, and perchance have regained a considerable portion of the original empire of the Spanish Arabs; but this link was wanting: and as they rose, whether simultaneously or successively on different points, without the slightest attempt at coalition, they were beaten down with comparatively little trouble. To detail the numerous revolts which attended the injudicious efforts made by the intolerant Government to compel the Moors to renounce their revered faith, would occupy more space than we can afford to the subject; but the last struggle that took place during the reign of Isabel is too important to be omitted.

The inhabitants of the Axarquia, the Algarbia, and the Serrania of Ronda, beheld, with grief and indignation, the forced apostacy of their brethren. The mountainous district of Villaluenga, studded with villages, had, from its situation near the coast bordering the Straits of Gibraltar, become the refuge of the numbers who, from hatred of the arbitrary sway of the Christians, had voluntarily abandoned the homes of their childhood, in the vicinity of Granada. A large proportion of the population was composed of Gandules. These fierce Africans were imbued with a spirit of indomitable resistance which set at naught every attempt to convert them; and when the rebellion broke out in

that district, it raged wildly, and required prompt and powerful measures to quell it. Ere he proceeded to extremities, however, the King endeavoured, by conciliation, to bring them to submission; but the insurgents were too well aware of the little reliance to be placed in the faith of the Christians towards those whom they termed Infidels, to be again the dupes of fair promises, and both sides earnestly prepared to commence hostilities.

The command of the expedition was given by Ferdinand to three experienced warriors, the Count of Cifuentes, the Count of Ureña, and Alfonso de Aguilar, elder brother of the Great Captain. On the 17th of February, of the year 1501, the troops having been assembled and reviewed in Ronda, the army set out. It was not, however, on the plains that the Moors had any expectation of success; and, at the approach of the Spaniards, they deserted their villages, and joined the Moorish army in the Sierra Vermeja (Chain of Red Rocks). Having swept the open country, the Spanish troops returned for a short space to Ronda, when it was deliberated what course should be adopted with the mountaineers who had concentrated their forces in the Sierra Vermeja, under the Fehri of Ben Estepar, a chief of renown.

It was proposed by Aguilar that a strict blockade should be established until the exhausted patience of the restless Moors should lead them to surrender, but the imprudent valour of his colleagues caused this judicious advice to be rejected; and the Castilian army undertook the dangerous task of tracking the denizens

of those rocky wilds amid the defiles with which they alone were acquainted. From height to height the Moors retreated before the advancing foe, until the latter arrived in the valley of the Rio Verde (Green River), opposite to Gebel Hamar (the Red Mountain). The Spaniards pitched their camp on the borders of the little river which separated them from the enemy's forces that remained in sight on the crests of the mountain; and the danger of attacking them in the heart of those almost inaccessible fastnesses now became clearly apparent, causing the stoutest hearts to quail. To the suggestion of retreating, however, the veteran Aguilar, who led the van, opposed an indignant refusal: "Never," said he, "shall it be said that one of the house of Aguilar turned back from danger! I gave my advice at Ronda, and it was rejected; to retreat, now that we have imprudently faced the peril, were to show weakness, and embolden the Moors. Let us go forward, and put our trust in God."

While the best course to be adopted was in deliberation, it was determined by accident. Some fiery spirits of the division of Aguilar, maddened by the security with which the Moors, from their rocky heights, skirmished with their foes, seizing a banner, rushed across the narrow stream, to retaliate; their comrades immediately followed, in order to support them, and Aguilar, unable to restrain their impetuosity, was forced to head the remainder of the vanguard; and the Count of Ureña, seeing the action thus engaged, advanced with his central division, while the Count of Cifuentes remained behind to protect the

camp. The disorderly and sudden attack of the Spaniards appeared to disconcert the Moors, who, making an ineffectual resistance, retreated before their pursuers, until the latter reached a plateau called Calaluz, where the Moors had left their women and children, and most valuable effects. By this time, the night had closed in. The Count of Cifuentes, in his anxiety for the fate of the other two divisions, had crossed the stream, and taken up a position on the first height; while the Moors, after drawing their pursuers on to the spot where they had left their treasure, disappeared in the fastnesses of the mountain, whither the women and children also fled, uttering loud shrieks. The *ruse* was successful; the Spanish soldiers, at sight of the rich booty before them, unable to resist the temptation, and thinking themselves safe from a cowardly foe that fled before them, even threw down their arms to load themselves with plunder. Vainly did their prudent leader remonstrate; easy success had intoxicated the soldiers, and caused them to forget all discipline. Dispersed hither and thither, some in quest of the women, whose shrieks resounded at intervals from different points; others collecting their plunder; and others again seeking, loaded with spoils, for paths by which to descend, the confusion was at its height, when the sudden explosion of a barrel of gunpowder revealed to both parties their true position.

The Moors advanced on all sides on the disbanded, disarmed, and disorganized Spaniards, who, by the

momentary blaze, had just time to perceive the peril, and the little chance of escape. It was now their turn to flee; but wherever they passed, they met the sword of the foe, or dreadful precipices. The Moors, accustomed from early childhood to every defile, fought in the darkness in security; while the Spaniards, hemmed in, or driven over the cliffs, met death in its worst shapes at every turn.

The Count of Ureña succeeded in descending to the next plateau, where he rallied a portion of his followers; but Aguilar could not be persuaded to retreat: "Never," said he, "has the banner of Aguilar turned from the field!" Surrounded by two hundred devoted followers, the chief continued for some time to make a stand against the overpowering numbers of the foe. His young son, Don Pedro de Cardona, was prostrated at his father's feet by a stone which knocked out several of his teeth; but he instantly rose, and continued to fight, until a wound in the thigh prevented his remaining upright. Still he would have carried on the unequal contest on one knee, had not his father insisted that he should withdraw from the *mêlée;* and, on his refusal, caused him to be conveyed forcibly to the comparatively safe position occupied by the Count of Ureña.

In the meanwhile, Aguilar himself continued to maintain his stand, verifying his proud boast that the banners of his house had never retreated before the enemy; but gradually his band of gallant knights diminished, as one after another they fell under the press of multitudes; and the valiant chief, left alone,

on foot, covered with wounds, yet still resolved to die sword in hand, and, facing the foe, had ensconced himself between two projecting rocks, which precluded his being attacked from behind. In this position, he was assailed by a Moor of large stature, who compelled him to turn, and engage hand to hand; and though weak from loss of blood, the Christian chief's long experience and great skill rendered him a formidable antagonist; nor was it until he had received a wound in the head and another in the chest from this new foe, that he fell. Still, however, preserving his presence of mind, the hero grappled with the Moor, and drew him down with him; and in this mortal embrace each, during a few breathless instants, sought with his poniard to strike his antagonist in a vital part; when the Spaniard, either thinking to inspire terror in the Infidel, or unwilling to die unknown, exclaimed: "I am Don Alonso, he of Aguilar!" "If thou art Don Alonso, I am the Fehri of Ben Estepar!" proudly retorted the other. The sound of his adversary's name seemed to infuse fresh rage into each combatant; but the life-blood was fast ebbing through the numerous wounds that covered the Christian leader, and after vainly endeavouring to collect his fleeting strength for another blow, he fell back dead.

Thus died Don Alonso Hernandez, the ninth Lord of the house of Cordova, and sixth of that of Aguilar, leaving a name which, indissolubly linked with that of his country, will be remembered so long as a page of her history remains. Of the illustrious race of Aguilar, he was the fifth lord who had met death on

the field battling with the Moors. He fell at the age of fifty-one, having made war on the Infidels forty years, either under his own banner, that of the King, or as Viceroy of Andalusia. The celebrated Aliatar of Lója had been killed in single combat by Don Alonso; and it is recorded that in this last fatal fray he had sent thirty Moors to herald his way to the realms of death. No less renowned for judgment and discretion than valour, this hero of the Spanish chronicles and ballads was respected by his enemies, who sent his body to his royal master, by whom it was interred with the honours due to his high rank.

Nor was this the only great loss of that fatal night. Spain long wept the death of numbers of her bravest sons. The rising sun shed its beams over a sad spectacle, for the mountain paths were strewn with corpses; and heaps of slain marked the several spots where the Count of Ureña and his soldiers had made a stand in their perilous deseent. Among the men of note who had fallen was Don Francisco Ramirez, whose talents as an engineer, and bravery as a knight, had contributed so largely to the conquest of the Moorish kingdom.

The news of the disaster that had oecurred on the plateau of Calaluz, together with the most exaggerated accounts of the numerical strength of the Moors, was brought by some of the fugitives to the camp of the Count of Cifuentes, whose terror-stricken soldiers would fain have urged upon him an instant retreat beyond the reach of the enemy, whom they

momentarily expected to fall upon them; but no Spanish noble was ever known to forsake his comrades; and, though he would not involve his division in certain destruction by attempting to join those who had so rashly entangled themselves in the mazes of the mountain, the Count persisted in maintaining the camp at Monardo. Before morning, Ureña, who had seen his son struck down by his side, and was himself severely wounded, succeeded, with the remnants of his division, in reaching the head-quarters of Cifuentes.

It was now the turn of the Spaniards to find themselves blockaded, but they did not remain so long; the sad tidings of the defeat of the Sierra Vermeja flew far and wide throughout Andalusia, and roused the spirit of vengeance in every breast: no summons from the sovereign was needed to congregate the militia of the province; and when Ferdinand, in the beginning of April, arrived in Ronda, he found six thousand infantry and thirteen hundred lances awaiting his orders. But the Moors of Calaluz, alarmed at the tempest which they had provoked, hopeless of being able to cope with the power of the sovereigns, and already regretting a success of which they now foresaw the consequences, determined, by a prompt submission, to purchase easy terms.

The submission tendered to the sovereigns met, however, with no ready acceptance, for the indignation of the Queen was at its height, exceeding even that of Ferdinand, who proposed nothing less than the pursuit

and extermination of the Infidels, even in the heart of their rocky retreat. More prudent considerations, nevertheless, prevailed; although the conditions imposed on the Moors were cruel in the extreme. They had solicited a safe conduct to remove to Africa, but this was granted only to those who paid ten doblas for the permission; and those who could not afford to pay this price, could only ransom their lives by submitting to be baptized. Hard as were these terms, they were accepted; and the King provided the exiles with vessels to convey them to the coast of Barbary. The resources of the Infidels were, however, so exhausted by previous exactions and the expenses of the war, that but few were enabled to avail themselves of the opportunity of joining their brethren, and the majority were compelled to apostatize. The Moors of Villaluenga having also submitted, and chosen exile, the Serrania of Ronda remained almost a desert; but this fact was of little importance to the sovereigns, who held it necessary that the conquered territory should be depopulated, in order to secure its quiet possession.

The Queen had now obtained such complete success in her work of conversion in Granada, that, in name, at least, not a Moor was to be found there; and that in the recently conquered Moorish kingdom all should be Christians, while in her hereditary domains of Castile such numbers of Infidels should be dwelling in peaceful security, appeared to her too great an inconsistency to be tolerated. Still it was difficult to find a pretence for quarrelling with these faithful vassals who had taken

no part in the insurrection of their brethren; and, intent only on their agricultural pursuits, complied, promptly and unhesitatingly, with every new exaction. But where so little scruple was entertained, it was not deemed hopeless to find a pretext; and as a preliminary step, a decree was promulgated on the 20th of July, 1501, prohibiting the Moors of Castile, Leon, Estramadura, and Andalusia, from any intercourse with the new Christians of the kingdom of Granada, under the penalty of confiscation of property; while a second edict, issued on the 12th of February, 1502, decreed the expulsion of all the adult Moors of the kingdom of Leon and Castile.

A delay of two months was allowed to them to dispose of their property, but they were strictly prohibited from taking the proceeds with them in gold, silver, or any merchandise which was not allowed to be exported, under pain of death; and whosoever of that creed remained after the period fixed, was to be condemned to slavery, and to be branded with its distinguishing mark on the forehead. The Moor who endeavoured to seduce a new convert to renounce Christianity, incurred the penalty of death; and the Christian who, after the 13th of April, granted aid or shelter to a Moor, was condemned to the confiscation of his property. So far the edict was precisely similar to that which had expelled the Jews; but it contained an additional clause, far exceeding those of the first in barbarity; as all boys above fourteen, and girls above twelve years of age, were prohibited from accompanying their parents. On

the last day of April, the exiles were to depart in companies under the charge of royal commissioners, and to pass through Biscay, to the French frontiers, or to a sea-port; but they were not permitted to settle in Portugal, Aragon, or Navarre, or to embark for Turkey, or the States of Barbary.

It were superfluous to enlarge on the cruelty of a decree which tore the parents from the children, leaving the latter entirely unprovided for, the law appointing no guardians for the unfortunates, and making no provision for their maintenance or education; in fact, tacitly condemning them to beggary; and it is probable that the wretched parents, in most cases, preferred sacrificing their religious scruples, and accepting the offered alternative of baptism, to being thus forcibly separated from their offspring, for we find no mention of immigration; indeed, the Spanish writers are very silent on the subject. Carvajal, however, tells us that when the time fixed for their departure came, the Moors were not suffered to go, but were compelled to take their choice between baptism and slavery; but that they were unwilling converts, and remained Moors at heart was, subsequently, well proved, whatever might be the means used to force them to adopt a creed which they had good reasons for detesting.

While the Queen was thus obtaining all the success to which she aspired, a singular incident took place in Aragon. A community of Mahometans inhabiting Teruel voluntarily embraced Christianity. The Aragonese Lords, alarmed lest Ferdinand should, at the

Queen's solicitation, renew against the Moors residing in his own dominions the same measures formerly taken against the Jews, became anxious to prevent these industrious and useful vassals from being molested; and the Cortes, then in session, required of the King a promise that no innovations should be attempted in the rules and regulations already in existence concerning the Infidels. The demand was made by three estates; the nobles, the gentlemen, and the burghers: the clergy refused its concurrence to the measure. The King made no objection to granting this request, and the concession was subsequently converted by him into a fuero, by which he bound himself and his successors to observe the existing rules and regulations, without adding to, or taking from, them.

It was during this residence of Isabel in Granada, that she received intelligence that her daughter Juana had been delivered of a son, the subsequently renowned Emperor Charles V. The little Prince was born on St. Mathias' day; but it was, in all probability, rather with a prophetic feeling of his future greatness, suggested by the precarious health of Prince Miguel, that the Queen exclaimed when she learned the tidings: "Cesidit sors supra Mathiam!" In August of the same year (1500), the betrothals of Maria, the only unmarried Infanta, with the widowed King of Portugal, took place in Granada, without any of the customary pomp and rejoicings. The Pope had for some time denied the dispensation necessary for Don Manuel to marry his sister-in-law, but finally consented to grant it.

On the death of Prince Miguel, which took place July 20th, 1500, Ferdinand and Isabel sent a pressing invitation to the Archduke Philip and his consort, to come and receive the oaths of allegiance of the Spanish Cortes: but the vain and careless youth, ever ready to sacrifice his duties and even his interests to the pleasures of the moment, and apparently already dreading the austere and punctilious etiquette of the Spanish Court, to which he subsequently manifested so overt and impolitic an aversion, delayed obeying the summons until the close of the year. Having taken their road through France, Philip and Juana were received in Blois with the most refined courtesy, by the gallant Louis XII., who entertained them several weeks with brilliant *fêtes*. The splendid hospitality of the French sovereign was not only a part of his character, but it was also in accordance with his policy, and completely won the good will of the frivolous Philip, who did homage to his entertainer for his estates in Flanders; but Juana had imbibed too much pride from her mother not to look upon this act of servility as derogatory, and she carefully abstained from taking part in the ceremony.*

On the 29th of January, 1501, the Archduke and his consort arrived in Spain, and were met on the frontiers by a number of nobles sent forward by the King and Queen to receive, and do them honour; while every city through which they passed, greeted its future sovereigns with gay *fêtes* and pageants. On

* The Archduke also took his seat as a Peer of France in the Parliaments of Paris.—Ed.

the 7th of May, they arrived in Toledo, where they were welcomed by their royal parents who had arrived there from Andalusia a few days before; and on the 22nd of the same month, Philip and Juana were, with due solemnity, sworn by the Cortes heirs of Castile and Leon.

To obviate any recurrence of the difficulties which had attended the recognition of the Queen of Portugal by the Aragonese, Ferdinand made his own arrival in Saragossa precede by several months that of the Archduke and Juana, and so ordained matters that, on the arrival of the latter in October, the Cortes unhesitatingly acknowledged them as his successors. It is somewhat singular that the Cortes that had so vehemently opposed the recognition of the elder daughter, should so promptly have acceded to that of the second. Don Alfonso de la Cavalleria, the Vice-Chancellor, a man of great influence with the King, is said to have advised him against using any persuasions, as these would argue a doubt of his right to make such a demand; adding, that when a King stooped to beg of his vassals that which in justice belongs to the sovereign, he furnished arms against himself, and emboldened them to deny it. Juana was the first Princess ever sworn in Aragon, that ceremony not being in use when Petronilla succeeded her father Ramon.

The health of Isabel had been too precarious to allow her to accompany her daughter into Aragon, but Juana's absence was of short duration. Whatever comfort the Queen derived from the society of her child, must have

been greatly embittered by the tokens of alienation which that unfortunate Princess displayed; while the character of Philip was such as prevented her deriving any comfort from his society. The headstrong temper of the Archduke rendered advice useless, and his instability precluded any confidence in his friendship. His disrespect towards his royal parents, and indifference towards his wife, were moreover so openly evinced, that Isabel could not but foresee the difficulties with which her husband would have to contend in the event of her own death; and this prospect of disunion in an empire which it had been the anxious wish of her life to consolidate, must have pressed sadly on the mind of Isabel; yet it was entirely out of her power to remedy the evils that she anticipated. The example of the Princess Margarita had shown how difficult it was for foreigners to adapt themselves to the grave and stately manners of the Spaniards; and it was to obviate the ill effects of a dissimilarity between the habits of the Prince and his people, that the sovereigns earnestly desired their son-in-law should make Spain his permanent residence, and by conforming to the manners and customs of the people, win their love and respect.

But Philip was too light and frivolous to give due weight to the reasoning of his prudent relatives, and too self-willed and accustomed to indulgence, to place the slightest restraint on his own inclinations. Nor were his wife's entreaties more successful; he had learned to look on her with little respect; and her

alternate fits of extravagant fondness, or violent anger at his numerous derelictions, were little calculated to inspire him with affection; while his recent experience of the gaieties of the French Court gave him little relish for the formality of Spanish etiquette, and he longed to enjoy the freedom and ease of his own Flemish dominions; and consequently but few days had passed since the Aragonese Cortes had, in his favour, made so great an innovation in their time-honoured custom, when the Prince, with a total disregard for their wishes and feelings, announced his determination of immediately returning to Flanders. Vainly did Ferdinand and Isabel combat this unwise resolution; he was deaf to all their arguments; and, leaving Juana, whose state of advanced pregnancy prevented her accompanying him, with her royal parents, Philip set out in the month of December on his return to the Netherlands.

Even in the selection of his homeward road, the Archduke displayed his usual obstinacy, persisting, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his royal father-in-law, in going by the way of France. Since the last visit of Philip to the French Court, the misunderstanding between Louis and Ferdinand had terminated in open hostilities, for after dispossessing the King of Naples, and dividing his dominions between them, the spoilers had come to a dispute over the prey.

The limits of the partition had never been clearly defined, though even had they been settled beyond a doubt, it was scarcely probable that those who had

shown so little equity in the acquisition of the possessions of a weak and defenceless Prince, would keep faith with each other any longer than self-interest required. It was, therefore, under existing circumstances, natural that the Spanish monarch should object to his son-in-law passing through his enemy's territories; but no consideration for others ever influenced the Archduke, who insisted that no one could with more propriety be intrusted than himself with the settlement of the difference which had arisen in the partition of Naples. But Philip's utter incapacity for business, and known partiality to the French, rendered him a very unfit agent to mediate between the contenders; and Ferdinand positively refused to accept of his intervention. Why this wise resolution, a resolution founded on such obvious grounds for distrust, should so soon have been changed, has remained a mystery, unless a solution is sought in the wish of the Spanish monarch to gain time by this negotiation, though it was to be purchased at the cost of the thoughtless agent's honour. Certain it is that ere Philip had crossed the frontiers, he was overtaken by a messenger bearing the powers which he had so lately and so vainly solicited to treat with Louis, and also secret instructions, from which he was enjoined not to deviate.

Philip, however, was not proof against the seductive manners of his amiable host; and, consequently, in no mood to exact hard terms in return for his hospitality, and the negotiations were brought to a prompt and

amicable conclusion; though the Archduke, in so doing, greatly exceeded the limits of his instructions. The chief articles of this new treaty were, that Louis should relinquish his share of the Neapolitan dominions in favour of his daughter Claude, and that Ferdinand should resign his in favour of his grandson Charles, the royal children having been contracted to each other on the occasion of Philip's first visit. Until the parties should attain a marriageable age, that portion of Naples claimed by Ferdinand, was to be held in trust by Philip, and that claimed by Louis was to be governed by an agent appointed by the French monarch himself.

This treaty, so manifestly in favour of Louis, was little likely to meet the approbation of the Spanish monarch, who is accused of having committed the arbitration of the question to his son-in-law merely to gain time, that he might put himself in a posture of defence in Italy, and thus continue the war to greater advantage; and who had instructed his Generalissimo, Gonzalo de Cordova, to take no heed of any intimation of peace having been made, unless he received direct orders to that effect from Ferdinand himself. Consequently, while the French generals received orders from their Court to terminate hostilities, the Spanish sovereign was making preparations to continue the war with energy. The large fleet that had been preparing for Calabria was dispatched thither, reinforcements were received by Gonzalo, and when the treaty was concluded, Ferdinand was fully prepared to disavow it; while Philip, who was still in France, was so over-

whelmed with mortification, that he was seriously indisposed in consequence.*

It was immediately after the notification of the treaty to Gonzalo, that that commander fought and gained the battle of Cerignola; and this victory was successively followed by others which threatened completely to annihilate the power of the French in Italy. The indignation and rage of Louis were shared by his people; and he forthwith commenced preparations on an extensive scale to retrieve the reputation of the French arms.

In the meanwhile, the Queen's health was exciting the greatest apprehensions. Not among the least of her cares were the symptoms of mental aberration manifested by her daughter Juana; and the grief which this affliction caused her, heightened by the anxiety it occasioned for the future destinies of Spain, increasing the depression of spirits under which she had laboured since the loss of her children, doubtless aggravated her physical sufferings, and hastened her death. Since the departure of Philip, his unhappy wife had remained inconsolable. Notwithstanding his indifference towards her, and his unblushing infidelity, the very soul of the Princess seemed centred in her husband; mute and

* Other authorities affirm that Ferdinand resented the presumption of the Archduke, who made it one of the conditions of adjustment between the two monarchs, that Louis XII. should betroth his elder daughter Claude to his own son Charles, subsequently Emperor of Germany, and that the kingdom of Naples should be resigned by both parties to the youthful pair; and declare it to have been in consequence of this circumstance that the Spanish sovereign refused to ratify the treaty.—Ed.

motionless, her eyes fixed on the ground, regardless of all surrounding her, giving no thought to her future subjects, and careless even of her children's welfare, she spent her weary days, mentally numbering those which must elapse ere she could be united to the object of her doating fondness.

The birth (on the 10th of March, 1503) of her second son, to whom was given the name of Ferdinand, instead of diverting her thoughts and assuaging her grief, appeared to increase her vehement desire of returning to Flanders; and when, in November of the same year, she received an invitation to that effect from her husband, nothing could moderate her impatience. The Queen was exceedingly averse to allowing her daughter to set out at a season of the year when it was perilous to tempt the sea, while to permit her to traverse territories filled with preparations for war, was scarcely preferable; but no arguments could dissuade Juana, and opposition had merely the effect of increasing the moral malady which was destroying her intellect.

On one occasion the Queen was hastily summoned from Segovia to Medina del Campo, where she had left the Princess for a few days—Juana had, without making the slightest preparation, or manifesting her object, sallied forth on foot; probably with some confused idea of joining her husband. Her alarmed attendants, finding their remonstrances against her unseasonable pilgrimage totally useless, closed the castle gates, and thereby greatly angered the Princess;

who in her paroxysm of rage vowed vengeance on those who insolently opposed her egress. With the obstinacy of insanity she persevered in her purpose, refused to return to her apartments, and remained all night at the gates, without adding to the insufficient garments she had on, notwithstanding the advanced time of the year.

The Bishop of Burgos, who had charge of Juana's household, immediately sent messengers to advise the Queen of the distressing, as well as perplexing state into which her daughter had fallen, and to request that she would relieve him of a responsibility to which he felt unequal. Isabel immediately dispatched the Admiral Henriquez and the Archbishop of Toledo to try their influence in inducing the Princess to re-enter her apartments, while she personally followed them as expeditiously as her weakness would permit. All that Juana would, however, concede to the Primate and Admiral was, that she would take refuge during the night in a wretched outbuilding, used as a kitchen; but with the dawn of day she was at the gates again, and there she remained, immovable, until its close; while although the arrival of Isabel effected a change, it required all her influence to induce the Princess to allow herself to be reconducted to her apartments.

This unequivocal proof that one idea alone occupied the mind of her daughter, at last led the Queen to consent to her departure; and, in the latter end of March, 1504, the Princess set out on her return to Flanders. The effects of the fatigue and grief which

she had undergone, however, told fatally on the debilitated health of Isabel; and, so alarming were the symptoms at one time, during the absence of Ferdinand, who was engaged in Aragon preparing to resist the threatened invasion of the French, that he was sent for in haste; but at his arrival the Queen had rallied, and no immediate danger was apprehended. The decline of her physical powers had, however, no effect on her mental faculties; for, to the last day of her laborious existence, she continued to take the deepest interest in the affairs of the State; and depriving herself of the comfort which she derived from the society of her consort, she urged his immediate return to the army, where she knew that his presence was indispensable.

The French nation, sharing the mortification of the King at the succession of reverses suffered in Italy, and eager to efface, by some signal success, the shame of previous defeats, seconded the wishes of Louis so effectively, that, in the autumn of 1503, Spain was threatened with a French invasion, while a brilliant army was destined to retrieve the footing lately lost in Italy. With the danger that menaced her dominions, the energies of the Queen appeared to be renewed; and, though she was now in the last stage of the painful disease which soon after terminated fatally, she took every measure that could be conducive to success; while her loyal Castilians, ever prompt to the call of honour and duty, readily obeyed her summons to join the King at his head-quarters in Girona, the scene of his youthful apprenticeship in arms.

Age and bodily sufferings had probably lessened the martial ardour of Isabel, or she really felt as deep an aversion to shedding Christian blood as is attributed to her, although she had been governed by no such conscientious scruples where Moslems were concerned, probably esteeming theirs as mere puddle. Be this as it may, when Ferdinand set out at the head of his brilliant army to repulse the invaders, the Queen wearied every saint in heaven to avert the meeting of the hostile forces. Fasts were instituted in the royal household, and pilgrimages made from one convent to another, to implore the prayers of the holy inmates in favour of a bloodless termination of the contest, while the Queen herself wrote repeatedly to Ferdinand, requesting that he would not provoke a battle, but rather suffer the enemy to return unmolested to their own territories. Fortunately for the peace of mind of the pious Queen, the French army, deeming it useless to attempt to cope with the united forces of Aragon and Castile on the enemy's own territory, retreated; no engagement took place; and a treaty of peace for three years was signed on the 31st of March, 1504.

But while the anxiety of Isabel was relieved in one quarter, it was increased in another, and the tidings of a violent altercation which had taken place between Juana and Philip reaching Castile, in June, 1404, probably occasioned the fever that attacked both Ferdinand and Isabel immediately afterwards. The strength of the King's constitution, however, soon carried him through, but it hurried the Queen towards the tomb

with rapid strides. With the indomitable energy that had enabled her throughout life to conquer pain, both mental and physical, Isabel bore up, however, against the last enemy, still devoting her thoughts to the affairs of State which had engrossed her attention through life. Prostrated on the couch from which she was never more to rise, she listened to all the reports on public matters, and entertained distinguished foreigners, from whose conversation she hoped to derive pleasure or instruction. Among the strangers of note who visited the Queen in her last days was Prospero Colono, as distinguished for his military talents as for his birth, and who, on his presentation to Ferdinand, told him that the object of his journey was "to see the lady who from her couch governed the world."

The Spaniards beheld with deep sorrow the approach of the death of Isabel. Independent of every consideration of affection for the dying sovereign, the nation could not but feel intense grief at a loss which was likely to be followed by a civil war. The successors of Isabel were little calculated to restore the confidence of the people; while the feelings of mutual dislike existing between Ferdinand and his son-in-law were well known, and excited lively apprehensions of the disastrous consequences that were likely to ensue. As usual in such cases, omens of the fatal event that was impending were seen in every accidental circumstance.

In the spring of that year, on Good Friday, a

terrible hurricane and several earthquakes had desolated Andalusia and several parts of Castile, especially Seville and Carmona, where many churches and private dwellings had been thrown down. Carmona belonged to the Queen, and the fact of its having suffered more than any other place in this commotion of Nature, was interpreted as a sad presage of her approaching dissolution. Solemn processions, public prayers, and private vows to the shrines of saints were made, in the vain hope of averting the threatened blow; but the fiat had gone forth, and nought could avail to save her. The Queen, in her last moments, had not the consolation of the presence of any of her children. She had expressed the greatest anxiety to see her daughter Juana and the Archduke once more, and Fuensalida, the Spanish Ambassador in Flanders had strongly urged the Queen's wish to Philip; but the latter delayed continually, under pretence that he was prevented from obeying the summons by the warfare which he was waging with the Duke of Gueldres. The truth was, that the careless Prince appeared to look with the greatest indifference on the splendid inheritance about to devolve on him, and held its interests subordinate to those of his paternal dominions.

On the 12th of October, conscious that but few days were left to her, the Queen dictated her will. As an impressive rebuke to the prevailing taste for expensive funeral paraphernalia which she had already sought to check in her sumptuary laws, she commanded that her

own obsequies should be performed with exceeding simplicity, and that the sum thus economized should be bestowed in alms. She designated the Franciscan monastery of St. Isabel, in the Alhambra of Granada, as the place of her interment, requesting that no statue, or ornamented mausoleum should be erected in her honour, but that a plain stone with an inscription should be placed over the humble sepulchre containing her remains.

If, however, the King should choose any other spot for his remains, she desired that her own might be removed thither, and buried beside them, "that the union in which they had lived on earth, and which she hoped, in the mercy of God, their souls would enjoy in heaven, might be represented by their bodies in the earth." After specifying certain charities, and assigning a sum of money for the redemption of Christian captives in Barbary, for which she made suitable provisions, she ordered that all her private debts should be paid within the year; and for this purpose and the above-mentioned legacies, she directed that the whole of her furniture, clothes, jewels, and other personal effects, should be sold, with the exception of such of her jewels as the King should select, and which she "beseeches he will accept, that the sight of them may remind him of the great love she had ever borne him, and that she awaits him in another world, enabling him thus to live the more justly and pious in this."

She revoked in her will many grants which she had made in the commencement of her reign, alleging that she had bestowed them against her will, and under the

pressure of circumstances; and after settling the crown in the usual forms on her daughter, the Princess Juana, as "Queen-proprietor," and on the Archduke Philip as her husband, she proceeded to give her successors advice concerning the administration, endeavouring especially to impress on them the necessity of conforming strictly to the laws, customs, and manners of the Spaniards, and enjoining them to appoint no foreigner to office; and, finally, after proposing as an example to them the harmony in which she had lived with her husband, she earnestly entreated them to show Ferdinand "the deference and filial affection to which he was so well entitled for his many virtues."

The most important clause of Isabel's will, that which named her husband sole Regent of Castile in case of the absence or incapacity of Juana, until Prince Charles should attain his twentieth year, was in conformity with the request preferred to her in the preceding year by the Castilian Cortes, that she would provide against such a contingency.

She made ample provision for the King's personal maintenance, bequeathing to him one-half of the net proceeds and profits accruing from the acquisition of the New World, besides a yearly income of ten millions of maravedis on the Alcavalas of the Grand-Mastership of the Military Orders.

In a codicil,* added three days before the Queen's

* The original codicil is still in existence in the Royal Library at Madrid, and an exact facsimile of the signatures appended to it in the trembling illegible characters traced by fingers already palsied by death, is given beneath the Queen's portrait in the present work.

death, she particularly recommends the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World to the care and kindness of her successors.

Isabel named as her executors the King, the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Diego de Deza, Bishop of Palenza, Antonio de Fonseca, and Juan Velazquez, her chief treasurer, and her secretary, Juan Lopez de Lezarraga.

Having settled her worldly affairs, the Queen devoted the short space left her to her devotions. Seeing her attendants deeply affected, she bade them, "If they loved her, to cease their tears and prayers for her recovery, and to reserve the latter for the salvation of her soul."

It is asserted that Isabel, on her death-bed, exacted a promise from Ferdinand that he would never marry again. That she caused him to make this promise is extremely probable, but the sequel proved that it was one which he never intended to keep.

She carried her modesty to such an excess that, when at the point of death the extreme unction was to be administered to her, she would not permit her feet to be uncovered according to custom.

Isabel the Catholic died in Medina del Campo, on Tuesday, November 26th, 1504, at the age of fifty-three years, seven months, and three days, having reigned thirty years. In accordance with the wish which she had expressed to be buried in her favourite city of Granada, the funeral train set out on the following morning with her remains. But, from the day upon

which the melancholy procession started until that on which it reached its destination, it was assailed by the most terrible storms. The swollen torrents from the mountains tore up the roads, rendering them almost impassable; while the rivers carried away the bridges, and submerged the plains. During the three weeks that elapsed ere the funeral train could reach its destination, the sad pilgrims saw neither sun nor stars. Many of the horses and mules were unable to resist the violence of the torrents, and several of their riders perished with them. The mournful cavalcade at length entered Granada on the 18th of December, and the body of the Queen was deposited in the monastery she had indicated, where it remained until after the death of Ferdinand, who survived her twelve years, when it was removed and deposited with his in the splendid tomb of the cathedral of that city.

The death of Isabel was sincerely mourned only by the Castilians, who indeed had strong reasons for regretting a loss which left them to the rule of an insane Queen, a foreign Prince, or a foreign Regent: for they still considered Ferdinand as a foreigner. With the Aragonese none of these motives existed; and, while they did justice to the good qualities of Isabel, they felt little sorrow for a death that removed the obstacle which had hitherto kept their monarch from residing in his hereditary dominions.

The most difficult part of the historian's task—that on which he is supposed to have exerted his utmost ingenuity, skill, and discernment,—is the analysis of

the character of his subject. In the case of Isabel, the idol of her own nation, the object of praise and admiration with foreigners, the task is doubly arduous. Of panegyrics there is no lack; every national writer, not only among her contemporaries, but also among those of modern times, who has handled the glowing theme, has kindled into the most extravagant enthusiasm, and depicted her, not as an erring mortal, but rather as a creature from a sphere of perfection, a divine being, granted for a space to the prayers of mortals, and whose transitory passage is a glorious stream of light, contrasting with the darkness which preceded the advent, and followed the departure, of the celestial visitant. Her modesty, piety, humanity, equity, affability, industry, mildness, temperance, abstemiousness, judgment, and intellect; her filial, sisterly, connubial, and maternal devotion; all these have been enlarged upon and extolled, until it seems rank blasphemy to raise a dissenting voice on any one of these points.

Not satisfied with endowing her with talents of the most varied kind, her worshippers have deemed that the so-oft profaned and misapplied appellation of "a genius" could on no one be so justly bestowed as on this idolized Queen. Although unable to concur in this opinion, we would by no means gainsay the real merits of Isabel; but her qualities, both bad and good, can be far better gathered from her deeds, than from delineations which generally take their hue from the prejudices of the writer. The name of Isabel is covered

with imperishable renown; but the student of history must decide whether that renown is pure and spotless; or if, blended of the darkest and brightest hues that colour humanity, it is an association of glory and shame.

From the very outset of her career, Isabel appears to have had one object in view—the establishment of a despotic monarchy. This object, of which she never lost sight, and to which she unhesitatingly made the most costly sacrifices, necessitated the destruction of feudalism, and was doubtless suggested by the vivid spectacle of the disasters occasioned to the throne by the unlimited power of its great vassals under her immediate predecessors. That the rampant authority of the aristocracy required a stringent curb, no one will pretend to controvert; but no necessity could sanction such means as she employed. She identified loyalty with religion. By a mistaken policy, she elevated the altar as a support to the throne,* but the instrument proved subsequently too powerful for her successors, and destroyed the edifice it was intended to prop.

An adventitious array of circumstances favoured her schemes, and increased her power to tenfold that possessed by any former Spanish sovereign since the Saracen invasion. She had also in her favour her appearance on the political stage at a crisis when any change was welcome, for all around apparently menaced

* The Inquisition ordained that rebellion against temporal power should be considered as an act of heresy.

utter ruin to the helmless bark of the State; and men, in their perturbation, felt their hopes revive as they witnessed the advent of a new star on the dark horizon. The fair young Princess could not fail to become an object of interest to a nation whose respectful gallantry has ever been proverbial; and, while the strictness, verging on austerity, of her morals, won the admiration of those advanced in years, the elegance and grace of her manners charmed the young. Having fortunately no taste for frivolous amusements, she furnished no handle to malice.

Her private character is deserving the highest respect. The peculiar grace with which she conferred a favour increased its value, and secured the permanent gratitude of the recipient; while she never was a loser, her gifts being bestowed either to recompense past services, or to ensure future ones. Her judgment was exercised so advantageously in the choice of her friends and servants, that her kindness and confidence were seldom misplaced, and, at her death, she left many sincere mourners. She had too much natural sense to be the dupe of sycophants. The elegant simplicity of her tastes was evinced in her apparel; when necessary, she could render it magnificent; but she had too much pride not to despise the vanity that finds delight in adorning the person.

The descendant of the weak and degenerate Princes of the bastard branch of Trastamara, she had all the energetic courage of the parent stock, and was largely endowed with the quality from the lack of which her

father and brother had suffered so much—strength of will. This quality, combined with the presence of mind with which she provided against every contingency, or speedily repaired every defeat, enabled her to carry out her bold plans with an audacity that acknowledged no obstacles, and held fortune enchained. The indifference which she manifested concerning the honour of the royal family; the want of delicacy which she evinced in giving her sanction to a tale of scandal, and endeavouring to perpetuate its infamy by affixing the stain of bastardy on her brother's child, are accounted for by the desire to secure to herself that child's rich inheritance.

It has almost invariably been the case in revolutions, when one branch of the royal family has been set aside to place another on the throne, that the dispossessed heir has been stigmatized as illegitimate. Of this, innumerable instances might be adduced. In England, several have occurred. The children of the fourth Edward and Elizabeth Woodville were proclaimed bastards by their uncle the Duke of Glo'ster. In latter days we have the example of the son of James II. and his Queen, Mary of Modena, who was currently reported to have been a spurious child, introduced into the palace in a warming-pan.

That the Princess Juana was by many believed legitimate, is plainly shown in the attempt made by Ferdinand, after the death of his first Queen, to obtain the hand of the ill-fated lady whom he had so largely contributed to dispossess and exile. The Por-

tuguese constantly evinced a firm belief in her rights; and while, in Castile, she was termed "The Nun," and still more contemptuously, "La Beltraneja;" in Portugal she was invariably designated as "La Excelentissima Senora," (the Right Excellent Lady).

The greatest fault that Juana had in the eyes of the Castilians, was the countenance which her claims received from the Portuguese; and the fear lest Castile should be annexed to Portugal was probably the great motive of the support given to her competitor; and the admirable policy of Isabel in maintaining, during her reign, close ties of relationship with her dangerous neighbour by the intermarriage of the royal families of Castile and Portugal, was the means of preventing any revival of the claims of Juana.* Of the scrupulous

* A short time before the Queen's death, her anxiety as to the succession was greatly increased by the information that was brought to her concerning the will which Enrique IV. had dictated to his secretary, Juan de Oviedo, and which was supposed to have been destroyed at that monarch's death. It was now said that Oviedo had committed this precious document to the keeping of the Curate of the parish of Santa Cruz, in Madrid, by whom it had been conveyed in a casket, together with other papers of importance, to Almeyda, in Portugal, and there buried. The Curate, having subsequently communicated this secret to Hernan Gomez de Herrera, a personal friend, and consulted him on the best course to adopt in the matter, was advised by him to reveal the existence of the important document to the Queen; and this advice having been followed, Isabel dispatched the informants to seek the casket, and bring it to her. When the messengers returned, the Queen was at the point of death, and they could not be admitted to her presence; but the matter reaching the ears of Ferdinand, he obtained possession of the will, and subsequently destroyed it. This account, positively vouched for by Galindez, is refuted by some authors, on the ground of the improbability that the

equity of Isabel in her administration of justice to individuals, numerous instances are recorded, but they

will should have been kept so long secreted, when a large reward might have been obtained for it from one or other of the interested parties ; and, also, from the improbability of its possessor making so long a journey to bury a treasure which he could have easily concealed nearer home. The circumstance of a will constituting Juana the heiress of Castile making its appearance at so auspicious a moment for the political projects of Ferdinand, who, intent on depriving his son-in-law of the crown of that kingdom, was already planning the offer of his hand to the dispossessed Princess, contributes to cast a suspicious shade over the asserted discovery. The positive refusal of the Princess Juana to accept the hand of one whom she had so long looked upon as a bitter enemy, put an end to the project of the astute King of Aragon, and the rumour of the will died with it. It is probable that Doña Maria, the Queen of Portugal, used all her influence to prevent an alliance that would have destroyed the chances of her own children to the succession of Castile. Herrera was promoted to the post of Alcalde of the Court, and pecuniary rewards were also lavished on him. Three successive sovereigns of Portugal extended their kind protection to the exiled daughter of the Fourth Enrique, maintaining her, notwithstanding her claustral vows, in all the state of royalty. Don Juan II. and Don Manuel, who both died during her lifetime, recommended her warmly in their wills to their successor. In the reign of Juan III., in 1522, Juana acknowledged that monarch as her heir to the Castilian crown, as the descendant in the male line from Juan I., of Castile, excluding Charles V., as the descendant of the usurping branch. Policy shortly after rendering an alliance between Portugal and the reigning royal family of Castile desirable, this document, which is still extant, was never made public. Doña Juana was born in 1462. In 1464, her hand was sought for Prince Juan, of Portugal, who died in 1495. In the same year (1464), it was proposed that she should marry the Infante Don Alfonso, of Castile, who died in 1468. In 1469, she was solemnly betrothed to Charles, Duke of Guienne, who died in 1472. In 1471, proposals were made for her union with Don Fadrique, son of Don Fernando I., King of Naples. This Prince died in 1504. In 1473, her father sought to

will scarcely counterbalance the monstrous perversion of its laws of which she was repeatedly guilty in her dealings with a whole nation whose sole crime was that it differed from her in religious dogmas. Her judgment, though naturally excellent, was constantly warped by passion and prejudice.

She is much lauded for having frequently appointed to office men whose moral worth and abilities were their only titles, in preference to men of birth and rank; but however praiseworthy this may appear, and although she evinced great discernment in her choice, the chief motive by which it was dictated was that which influenced her conduct throughout life—her wish to counterbalance the power of the aristocracy. Yet, while she constantly diminished their immunities and privileges, she contrived, with the exquisite tact that distinguished her, by many little acts of delicate flattery, to obtain and secure the good-will of the nobles. Her letters to those who had already distinguished themselves in her service, or whom she

marry her to the Infante Don Enrique, son of the Infante Don Enrique, of Aragon. This suitor died in 1523. In 1473, she was also betrothed to Don Alonzo, King of Portugal, who died in 1481. In 1479, she was promised to Don Juan, the Infante of Castile, whose death she witnessed in 1498. In 1482, her marriage was negotiated with Francis Phœbus, the young King of Navarre, who died in 1483. The last proposal for her hand was made in 1505, by Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Aragon, who died in 1516. The Princess Juana survived all her rivals, as well as the pretenders to her hand. She died at Lisbon in 1530, subscribing herself to the last, "Yo la Reina," (I, the Queen).

wished to stimulate to fresh exertions, have already been alluded to. On the death of any loyal vassal of the crown the royal family assumed mourning, and prelates of great repute were sent by the Queen to condole with, and offer consolation to, the bereaved family. The reform she introduced by the advice and through the efforts of Ximenez among the clergy, was one of the most useful and meritorious of her acts.* Another was the restoration of its sterling value to the coin of the realm, so much debased during the preceding reign. The uniform kindness with which the Queen treated Columbus, and her partiality towards the great navigator, would have been dwelt on at greater length, but that his no less faithful than elegant historiographer has left nothing unsaid which could illustrate her conduct, and settle the long-mooted question whether she is to be blamed for the treatment to which he was subjected on his return from his third voyage.

The scenes of barbarity, desolation, and woe, which followed the advent of the Europeans to the shores of the New World, when the children of the soil were either chased and destroyed like the tameless denizens of their own wilds, or enslaved and chained down to till the broad lands over which they had once roamed

* The urgent necessity for this reform and the angry feelings which it excited among those by whose dissolnteness it was suggested, may be judged of by the fact that above a thousand monks and friars, rather than submit and adhere to the strictness of their conventual rules, abjured their faith, and passed over into Barbary.

in freedom, were such as have ever followed the conquest and subjection of new regions, and cannot be imputed to Isabel: it is moreover proved that she was kept in ignorance of the majority of the evils committed in those distant acquisitions, and that she took the measures she deemed most efficacious to correct such as reached her ears. Indeed, she was far more disposed to treat with kindness and leniency the savages who had never heard of her God, than the cultivated and intelligent Moors and Jews who admitted the truth of some of the tenets of her creed, but would not subscribe to all. Among the traits of humanity recorded of her we find the following: It appears that the Queen had little taste for the national sport of bull-fighting, and horrified at the frequent recurrence of accidents to the horses and riders engaged in it, yet, unwilling to give offence to the people by an entire prohibition of the diversion, she endeavoured to guard against the fearful risks attending them by ordering that other horns should be fastened to those of the bulls, the added pair pointing in an opposite direction to those of the animal, thereby reversing the points and rendering them harmless.

This is certainly a charming little anecdote; but it merely goes to prove that the Queen shared with the majority of mankind the dislike to witness the infliction of acute physical pain; and after perusing the records of the Inquisition, and shuddering over the recital of the dreadful sufferings of the Jews it fades into insignificance. Those were inexpiable crimes. The stern justice of her ancestor Pedro I., King of

Castile, impelled him to sacrifice some victims to the safety of the State, as well as to his own; but if this unfortunate necessity authorized his enemies to attach the epithet of "cruel" to his name, by what appellation can rightly be designated his descendant the slayer of hecatombs?

END OF VOL II.

LONDON:
Printed by Schulze and Co., 13, Poland Street.

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